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Selections.

THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION IN MISSOURI.

LETTER FROM B. GRATZ BROWN.

[In the STANDARD of Dec. 10th we published the material portions of a letter from B. GRATZ BROWN, the able and inflexibly radical Senator from Missouri, on the question of Suffrage, proposing to admit the negro to the ballot-box on the same terms with the white man. This proposition, so reasonable in itself and so consonant with the true principles of justice and equality, and which, it would seem ought to command the hearty assent of every friend of liberty, appears to be meeting with strenuous opposition from a large section of the so-called Radical party, under the lead of CHARLES D. DRAKE, Esq., unquestionably one of the ablest men in the State. Mr. Brown defends his position with characteristic zeal and ability, in a second letter, longer than the first, and addressed to the Missouri *Democrat*. We would gladly copy it in full, but can only present the following extract:]

THE proposition to extend, under proper qualifications of age, residence, service rendered in the armies, the right of suffrage to those persons in Missouri who now are or shall become free by the Convention's act may be received under two aspects—the one as logically connected with the very establishment of freedom itself, and its necessary outgrowths; the other as surrounded with material interests likely to be affected, and former prejudices only too sure to be encountered. For this reason it has been deemed proper to trace out, first, the larger generalizations that embrace this question and ground it upon absolute principles. There are those in our community who believe that what is right in itself is sure in the end to prove best for the State under every contingency. Such persons will have little difficulty in arriving at the further conclusion that the present is always the best time to do what is right. It would be idle, however, to disguise the further fact that many others will insist upon considering all such issues as matters rather of political expediency, to be governed by the interests affected, whether partisan or industrial. And this will be done, not because they are less moral or conscientious than their neighbors, but because such is a habit of thought which has become prevalent to a large extent in our midst. The opinions of such are entitled also to a full consideration.

What, then, are the interests more directly involved, and that bear upon the welfare of the State and people? Is it wealth, labor, enterprise, population? If so, assuredly it will not diminish that wealth, or depreciate the value of that labor, or impair the incitement to that enterprise, or destroy the worth of that population to elevate it, to educate it by civil processes as well as by school processes, to make its individuals realize, in all ways, the responsibilities of manhood, and enter hopefully upon wider fields of usefulness. The colored race is in our midst, there to remain, and its component parts must be regarded henceforth as human beings claiming a sympathy—not as chattels, to be bandied from pillar to post, sold, driven, expatriated at will; for it is only those lip-loyal to the great cause of freedom who now dress up in new guise the old exploded doctrine of deportation, and hold out the idea of inducing them to migrate elsewhere, by refusing them, where they are, any of the rights of citizenship. Such a mode of eviction by premeditated injustice is even more reprehensible than forcible deportation, for it sets up the magnanimity of other communities as the motives for our meanness. That so low a type of statecraft will ever find favor is not probable, and it is scarcely necessary to remind you how emphatic has been the voice of the people of Missouri against the whole scheme of deportation, even when sustained by the whole weight of pro-slavery affiliation. With the problem ever present to redeem labor from the discredit into which slavery has cast it, and with that labor as one of the elements upon which future development is to depend, what surer mode of giving it worth, respect, energy, power of production and protection than by endowing it with the franchise likewise? The only plausible excuse founded on alleged material interests which has been urged is the singular enunciation that such justice may invite negro migration from other States where a right of voting is not conceded, *and that this will prevent a white immigration*. Analyze this argument. First, it is by no means certain that other States will not do as so many have already done and establish genuine free Constitutions, and the action pending in Congress makes it at least probable that in reconstructing government in the rebellious sections the free black loyal element will not be utterly disfranchised, as is now the case in Missouri. Certainly, if the Confederate authorities proceed to arm their slaves, as is foreshadowed, it will necessitate on our part, a resort to the grand old doctrine of equal rights in all our dealings with the black population. Second, if the reorganized sections should not, and neither should we, make any provision extending a suffrage to those emancipated, it does not follow, and cannot, therefore, be positively affirmed, that a migration of freed blacks to our State will not still take place, influenced by the desire of a changed abode. Thus, injustice might fail of its end and require to be followed by harsh legislation such as that which characterized other days, and such as would inevitably return us upon an era of persecution towards "free negroes and mulattoes," to use the title of well-remembered statutes. What remains of the argument, therefore, stated at its best, may be put in these words: "the more colored men permitted in our midst the fewer white immigrants are to be expected." How utterly incorrect any such inference is, will appear from the fact that it is predicated upon the idea of an absolute repugnance between the races, which will not admit of their living in juxtaposition—an idea unsupported by experiences, as is seen in those free States where black men have always lived and voted, and still more clearly demonstrated in those slave States where they have been retained and multiplied. Both sections, the whole country, retort upon such an assumption. But there are other facts which disprove substantially this hypothesis. An equal service in our armies has not driven the white man from the field even of battle and death because his regiment went into the breach side by side with one of a darker skin. Yet, this same alleged antipathy was used in argument with fully as much warmth against putting the negro into the military organization as it now is against admitting him to the exercise of civil functions. Events have confounded all such narrow inference. The sacrifices and grandeurs enacting around us have lifted this nation above the level of such thought, and they who bank to-day upon the stability of any prejudice will turn up insolvent and repudiated. But why should such admission to the right of suffrage deter white immigration? From whence is our State to be repeopled? Will it be by those whose peculiar notions about slavery, and negro inferiority, and the dominion of castes and colors have led them into rebellion? Are they to be invited back at the expense of refusing justice to those who have helped us defend our homes from invasion and pillage? They, in all likelihood, would be deterred by negro suffrage from coming to our State. Such, however, is not the source from which a future population is to be either desired or expected. When this war shall be ended, and peace shall again unfurl her banner inviting to the work of replenishing desolated fields, and reëstablishing multiplied industries, it will be from the Free North, where the great argument of this struggle to establish liberty upon the basis of equal justice to all, has been written in blood above every domestic hearth, that the populations will flow in upon us. And can anyone think that they will be deterred by the fact that we have granted the franchise to those we have freed? Will the men of New England, and New York, and Ohio, and other densely peopled States, pledged unalterably to freedom as they are by even association and teaching, be deterred by such action, so consonant with their ideas of right, from coming to our commanding, central, empire State. Or again, will that abundant, yet unostentatious sympathy which has been enlisted in our behalf among the peoples of Europe because we were believed to be contending for a principle dear to their hearts, when it shall come to take shape and develop into a vast migration to these United States—will it halt on the banks of the Mississippi and refuse to cross into yonder fair fields because there that principle has been carried into practice? Such a fancy is the idlest vision that ever frightened any community from responding to the instinct of justice in readjusting its fundamental law. Of the multitudes that our regenerated State will invite, there will not be one in a million who would not rather cast his lot where freedom was unmistakably established as the ground plan of the commonwealth, and where that freedom was guarded by a franchise precluding it from being called in question again, than to take up his abode in a State where the main issue was still in abeyance, where the struggle over black laws and civil disabilities, and all the tedious process of oppressing a race back into virtual slavery was only remitted to a subsequent date, and where that intolerance which partisan conflicts so surely engender was to be levelled against those whose convictions of conscience might mark them out for hostility, or whose extended business connection might expose them to the malice of unscrupulous rivals. Is it such a future that is demanded for Missouri by those who insist upon not considering and determining now this question of negro suffrage? Will such a prospect fascinate those who heretofore would never migrate to our State because slavery threatened their peace and industry, and who hereafter will only come willingly because they believe that slavery, with all its adjuncts and corollaries, is gone from amongst us? Tell them that in 1870 the struggle is to be tried anew with all the exhilerants that excited appeal to the lowest passions can provoke, and is it credited that the allurement will be irresistible? No! never! The reverse will be the case. And no more fatal blow could be struck at our entire landed and mineral wealth, which must depend exclusively on rapid repeopling for enhanced values, that an abnegation of its plain duty by the Convention elect, and its failure or refusal to make now the only settlement of this question of suffrage that can ever be held conclusive. Make Missouri to blaze in the eyes of the world as the spot of all others on this continent where Freedom and Equal Rights and Abosolute Justice hold sway, and her limits will soon be unable to contain the many millions from other lands who will throng thither for a habitation. Disgrace her by a coward compliance with a craven prejudice under a false pretext, and there will be few to do her reverence.

It would carry forward this paper to a greater length than is designed to discuss all the bearings of this proposition. Therefore, it has been confined to our more immediate home relations. But they who reflect upon it will not fail to run out its lines into vast reachings and consider the influence which would be thus brought to bear on other reconstructions in the Southern States soon to follow. They will consider the harmonizing effect in making our commonwealth thoroughly congenial with the new national life—receptive as well as centralizing to all its elements of progress. They will appreciate the galvanic energizing power it would exert in emboldening Congress and strengthening the impulses of the Executive to move with firmness and faith in the appointed courses of the future. And more comprehensively still they will realize the opportunity thus accorded to Missouri in this most critical transition from mythical unionism to pure democratic institutions (just as was her prerogative in almost every other great antecedent national crisis), to take the initiative in shaping policies that will become watchwords to the century. May her upright stand in the present redeem her fatal lapses in the past. May her representative men come up to the sublimity of the occasion, and do an ever memorable work in laying the cornerstone of *an equal freedom* in the great valley of the Mississippi.

It only remains to add that the modes of accomplishing this work and completing the establishment of a freedom policy, so as not to leave the surest defences of the whole system to a future agitation, cannot present any serious difficulty. Latitude even may be given to the objections of those who hesitate about time and fitness, and still constitutional clauses be framed whereby those now free, those liberated by act of the Convention, and those hereafter coming to the State as freedmen, may attain a right of suffrage. Doubtless few, if any, contemplate that all who are emancipated either by law or military orders shall at once, and without discrimination, be admitted to a right of suffrage; for while there is much cant in the common language about not being prepared for freedom, yet there are probations to the exercise of a right of voting recognized throughout our political system, which it would be proper to apply in this as in other instances. The establishing in the Constitution the principle is of more importance than any question about incidents. The latter in a few years vanish, or become exhausted—the former is perennial and always expanding its application. To blot out, therefore, disfranchisements predicated on color alone, and substitute requirements as to qualification that have an intelligible foundation is the primary and all important step to be taken. This may be done in three ways: *first*, by article of the Constitution declaring that from and after a certain date no distinction shall be made against any citizen on account of color, race, or nationality; *second*, by a provision setting forth the conditions of residence in the State or service in the armies, or other requisites that shall entitle those heretofore held as slaves or deprived of suffrage to become electors; *third*, by enjoining it as a peremptory duty upon the Legislature after a certain time to prescribe the necessary residence for admitting freedmen to the right of voting and abolishing thereafter all distinctions founded on color or lineage. The most direct of these is the best, because it leaves no questions behind, yet either of the three modes followed up by an efficient registry act would compass the end to be attained. Nor could it be alleged against either with any show of truth that the Convention had fastened upon the people of the State a policy not contemplated in their credentials, for the constitutional provision would be altogether prospective in operation, and it would be competent to change it before going into effect, if, after mature consideration, it should be so determined. In any such revulsion, however, the labor of agitation would be thrown upon those hostile to all the material as well as moral interests of the State, and they would meet with very little sympathy or encouragement in their appeals to pro-slavery prejudice, or antipathies of race. The Constitution once amended, the equality of all men before the law once proclaimed, no fear of relapse on the part of public opinion would be entertained, for revolutions never go backward.

There are those who express doubts lest this matter of identifying freedom and franchise may produce division in the party and thus impair its usefulness as an agent for controlling the destinies of our State. If, however, the extension of a right of suffrage to those declared free be settled now, and settled in consonance with equity, no dissension can hereafter arise; but if it be not determined and incorporated with our Constitution, then will it be ever recurring, threatening disruption. The humblest may agitate it to-day, to-morrow it will agitate itself, thenceforth it will agitate all others, and they surely who have themselves been agitators for three years past should know that the end is only when the right prevails. How imperative, then, under considerations of a purely political character, that the Convention, in its dealings with the issue presented, should enact genuine freedom, should guarantee equal rights, should announce justice as a higher law; and in rendering back its power to the people should be able to say you have here a settlement of the long-pending struggle that will give repose to the community, and not a compromise of principle that can only result in a chaotic condition for years to come.

With very high regard, I remain, yours truly,

B. GRATZ BROWN.

LETTER FROM THEODORE TILTON.

CHICAGO, January 5, 1865.

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

LET me borrow a hand's-breath of your space, to say from a distance to your Constitutional Convention what several gentlemen in St. Louis desired me to tarry and say by word of mouth.

The Convention has a novel prerogative—to make a new Constitution, which, when made, is not to be submitted to the people, but to go immediately into effect, subject to no tribunal or revision or rejection. But the Convention is instructed by the people to perform three duties—first, to emancipate the slaves; second, to disfranchise the rebels; third, to ordain what else the public good requires. As to emancipation and disfranchisement, only one sentiment (and that a right one) prevails. As to what else the public good requires, the gate stands wide open to suggestions, old or new.

I venture one concerning suffrage—a subject you are now debating. *Give the ballot to all who can read and deny it to all who cannot!* It is strange that this proposition—approved, as it is, by every wise man's private conviction—is so generally omitted from the public law. Democratic government is grounded on the intelligence of the people. Every voter is a legislator for every other. The theory, therefore, is that the voter must cast an intelligent vote. But what shall be the entitling measure of intelligence? Let it be the lowest measure consistent with the public safety. What is this lowest measure? If a man who could *not* read was once counted fit for an English king, let a man who *can* read be counted fit for an American voter. This is the simplest, easiest, and best of tests.

What is its practical value to your Convention? It affords a beautiful, just, and equitable disposition of your disputed point of negro suffrage. I ask the radicals in St. Louis, "Will you permit black men, who fight for the Union, to vote for the Union?" "No!" said they; "the blacks are too ignorant." "You are not opposed, then, to negro suffrage because the negro is black, but because he is ignorant?" They answered, "When the negro knows how to vote, we will give him the ballot." Now, this is well. The negro should not vote till he knows how. *Nor should the white man.* Deny the ballot to both, so long as they cannot read; give it to both as soon as they learn. *To-day, in Missouri, more whites than blacks are unable to read.* To grant the ballot to these ignorant whites, and deny it to these ignorant blacks, is a mere caprice of prejudice. Grant it to neither till they earn it by alphabet and spelling-book. On the other hand, to deny negro suffrage entirely—to say, for instance, to a black man who is intelligent and thrifty, "You may pay taxes on twenty thousand dollars' earnings, but you shall not have a vote"—this violates the divinely ordained democracy of mankind, and is an affront to Him who is "no respecter of persons."

Is negro suffrage an untried novelty, that it should be feared? Not at all. Many years ago Maryland and North Carolina sent their free negroes to the polls. A few days ago, Gratz Brown told you truly that, except for the negro vote in New York State, the calamity called Horatio Seymour would have been repeated at the last election. I believe with Frederick Douglass, that "if a negro knows as much when sober as an Irishman when drunk, he knows enough to vote." There is no reason why your State should not now receive the noblest of political constitutions. Such a basis of suffrage would command the assent and admiration of the world. Rendering impartial justice to all classes, it would crown its makers with everlasting remembrance. Now is the golden hour for Missouri. Let not her Convention tarnish their opportunity by any stain of injustice and inequality.

Faithfully yours, THEODORE TILTON.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

SPEECH OF MR. CRESSWELL OF MARYLAND.

[Our scanty limits will not allow us to print one line in a thousand of all that has been so eloquently uttered by different members of the U. S. House of Representatives in favor of the Anti-Slavery Amendment to the Constitution; and, in selecting passages from different speeches, from time to time, we are inclined to give precedence to the arguments of those heretofore opposed to every anti-slavery measure. Mr. Cresswell's speech, delivered on the 5th inst., was one of uncommon eloquence and force, exhibiting especially the history and characteristics of slavery in Maryland. His testimony as to the effects of emancipation in that State and the admirable behavior of the freed class is emphatic and valuable.]

IN my own State the freedmen properly appreciate their position. In fact, the slaves, for the most part, knew beforehand from actual intercourse with those of their race previously manumitted what would be expected of them after their emancipation. I have heard no complaints of their idleness or dissipation. All of them with whom I have conversed seem to understand that they must work for an honest livelihood. They were never better behaved. Obedient, cheerful and happy, they appear anxious by their good conduct to reward the efforts of those who labored to make them free. I regret nothing that I have done for them. On the contrary, I rejoice that I have been able to contribute to the restoration of the rights of humanity to a down-trodden race. When passing along through life I encounter these poor freedmen, and hear one of them say, "Master, God bless you," I feel none the worse that the prayer of a fellow-mortal, black though he be, upon whom I have aided in conferring something more of happiness, has been offered up in my behalf.

The helplessness of the blacks used to be a favorite topic of conversation among the slaveholders of Maryland, but since emancipation has been in course of development very little has been heard from them on that subject. When Jeff. Davis's statesmanship had begun to bear fruit, and a fearful suspicion had gradually dawned upon the enlightened understanding of his followers, that instead of making slavery supreme, he had simply knocked out its brains and given its carcass to the dogs, fear made them tell the truth, and we then discovered that helplessness was chargeable more to the masters than to the slaves. "Gracious Heaven!" they exclaimed, "if we lose our slaves, how shall we get along? Why, we never worked a day in our lives." And when in the course of events the loyal white people of Maryland for nearly three years had been marching their fathers and sons and brothers to the war, many of them to return no more, and when at the board of almost every loyal family the place of some loved one could be filled only by the cherished memory of a gallant soldier who had nobly died for his country, *those who had suffered thus*, seeing the slave-owners actually profiting by the scarcity of white labor, began to ask, Why are not the burdens of this war made equal? Why are not the slaves put into the army and allowed to fight? At the mere asking of such grossly unconstitutional questions a wail went up from the slave-owners (except a few, to whom all honor) that rent the heavens. They cried out, "Oh! spare us, spare us; our work is to be done, and our slaves must do it. Go on with the draft, and let the white men who are unable to pay commutation go to the war." But notwithstanding these most affecting entreaties, the able-bodied male slaves nearly all volunteered. After they had gone the owners were indiscreet enough to complain, because, as they said, all the strong men having been taken they would be taxed with the support of the women and children, the helpless and infirm, and they piteously asked to be relieved from so much unrequited expense and care. This alleged grievance coming to the ears of one having the power to remedy it, he at once made it known that he would relieve the owners from the charge of all the negroes whom they were unwilling to retain, and would provide for their transportation by sending a steamer to any accessible point that might be designated. Strange to relate, not one application was made for transportation. There was an instantaneous conversion of all who before complained; and like good Christians they forthwith acknowledged the obligation resting upon them to protect and provide for the imbecile creatures over whom Providence had placed them. But the most ludicrous refutation of all such complaints was given the other day. Even before the election for the adoption of the Constitution had been held, the slave-owners, profiting by the signs of the times, began to ransack the statutes of the State in search of some legal device that would enable them to secure for a few years more the services of the infant slaves. Scarcely had they fished up an old apprentice law, which the lawyers told them would answer their purpose, when lo! and behold, they gathered up the little darkies of both sexes and crowded them into all conceivable kinds of vehicles, until they looked like over-populous nests of blackbirds, and then conveyed them with all possible haste before the Orphans' Courts and had them bound out to their former masters. Many of the owners, although the result of the election was then unknown, actually manumitted the children before the 1st of November, and had them bound immediately in order that they might deprive their parents, who were still slaves, of the right of being consulted after their emancipation as to the disposition of their own offspring.

You will not wonder at my confidence in the improvement of the negro race when I relate an incident which came under my own observation. Our struggle for emancipation was fierce and closely contested. For a long time the result was in doubt. The soldiers' vote finally settled it in our favor by a majority of less than four hundred; but the advocates of slavery, unwilling, though fairly beaten, to surrender a field which they had held so long without dispute, did their utmost, after the election, to defeat the voice of the people, by a resort to protests, and injunctions, and writs of mandamus, and every other device which the ingenuity of counsel could invent. The Governor's proclamation, declaring the triumph of the friends of freedom, in spite of rebel votes and the "law's delay," did not reach the southern section of the State until Monday the 31st of October, when a steamer from Baltimore brought the official document. A Union meeting was held that day at Cambridge, in Dorchester County, at which it was made known, to the infinite disgust of every faithful follower of Jeff. Davis, that the next day would see Maryland a free State. I know not how the word passed; I saw no flashing beacon, nor flaming brand, nor speeding courier; but as I travelled in open carriage that night to fill an appointment next day, more than fifty miles away, it seemed as if the very air had borne the glad tidings before me. All Africa was abroad; some on horseback, some in wagons, but nearly all on foot, moving along, singing and joyful. When, later in the night, I was journeying wearily through the sighing pines, my curiosity was excited by the fact that ever and anon a bright light would suddenly burst upon me. Knowing that country people were usually at that hour abed, these lights were a mystery to me. Turning to my companion, I asked an explanation. He replied, "The lights you see are at the meeting-houses of the negroes, who have met for the purpose of holding watch-meetings to welcome in the 1st of November." The mystery was explained. The negroes had assembled at midnight, in their rude churches, hastily built by the roadside, in the woods, or down at the marshes, to watch for the advent of their day of jubilee, in order that they might receive their earliest experience of heaven's priceless gift to man—thrice-blessed liberty—while on their knees before the Father of all. Surely, a people who will thus dedicate the first moments of their freedom to God, are worthy to be free.

[Having answered the arguments of those who oppose the Amendment on Constitutional grounds, he closes as follows:]

If, then, the power of amendment extends to the abolition of slavery, and that it does is too clear to admit of a suspicion of a doubt, with what propriety can any slaveholder ask for compensation? They entered the Union with a full knowledge of the existence of that power, and they held their slaves afterward subject to the right of the people of the United States in accordance with the forms prescribed to prohibit human bondage. How, then, can the slaveholders complain of injustice if the people shall choose to exercise their notorious privilege of amendment? But the case is infinitely worse when we advert to the many efforts at conciliation made in the beginning of the rebellion, and find that before the insolence of the Slave Power had culminated in actual war the Congress proposed, by the necessary majority, an amendment to the Legislatures of the States, whereby the people were to be deprived of all power of interference with slavery in the States by amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and that this proposition, which, if accepted, would have been a perpetual guarantee, was scornfully rejected. Nothing would satisfy the propagandists of slavery but war, terrible war. And now, after the nation has been compelled in defence of its life to expend its treasure by thousands of millions, and sacrifice hundreds of its best and bravest on almost every hill-top, and in almost every valley of the South, who is so craven as to speak of compensation for slaves when their emancipation was made necessary by the rebellion of their masters?

I have heard it said of the rebels, "Woo them with gifts. Pay them for their losses." Is it meant that we shall load our already heavily-burdened constituents with one more subsidy, that defeated traitors may not suffer the penalties of their own acts? Is it meant that we shall charm them back to loyalty by paying them the money of a people whom in striving to ruin they have ruined themselves? I would rather say with King Henry of Bolingbroke,

> "Shall our coffers then
> Be emptied, to redeem a traitor home?
> Shall we buy treason? and indent with fears,
> When they have lost and forfeited themselves?
> No, on the barren mountains let him starve;
> For I shall never hold that man my friend,
> Whose tongue shall ask me for one penny cost
> To ransom home revolted." [Davis and his crew.]

Who is so weak as to believe that the rebels can be appeased by concessions to slavery, or that the war can be ended otherwise than by destroying their military power? Have they ever given us reason to entertain any such expectations? Their President, their Congress, the chiefs of their armies, every one of their officials, high or low, who has spoken upon the subject, has always insisted that they will tolerate but one plan of adjustment, namely, that which provides for separation and disunion. Where is the evidence that the rebels will stop the war and return to the Union if we will not destroy slavery? I challenge its production. It nowhere exists. The issue is sharply defined between the rebellion and the United States. On the one side is disunion for the sake of slavery; on the other is freedom for the sake of the Union. In the beginning of the war the rebels, to justify their resort to arms, seized the priestess of prophecy, and compelled her to adopt the sentiment that the Union could not continue with the States part slave and part free. They construed the words literally, and then, by their own voluntary acts, verified the prophecy as they interpreted it. They have demonstrated that the conflicting systems of free and slave labor cannot be reconciled under a republican form of government, but rather that they will develop into political antipathies, which will ultimately, like smoldering, but inextinguishable fires, burst into the full blaze of civil war.

Others may doubt and fear, but I believe that slavery is doomed. In my judgment, if the people of the Southern Confederacy, so called, were made independent to-morrow they could not preserve their favorite institution. If this Congress were to promise to protect it for them, could that promise be redeemed? Could you ever again enforce a Fugitive Slave law? No human power can again so far stifle the voice of nature as to hush into submission the denunciations of slavery, which rise like exhalations from all parts of the land. Civilization everywhere speaks for liberty. Russia, by her grand act of emancipation, has banished serfdom from Europe. England, France, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Portugal, have all crossed the ocean to liberate the bondman. Less than seven million slaves remain within the bounds of Christendom; and for four millions of these we stand responsible in the sight of God and man. Knowing all this, the enlightened, determined, and irrepressible sentiment of the nation cries aloud, "Away with slavery, away with slavery!" So long as we hesitate and delay this great work we can have no peace. Whether we would or not, we must *establish freedom* if we would *exterminate treason*. Events have left us no choice. The people have learned their duty, and have instructed us accordingly. Let us do our part, and, as their heralds, proclaim universal freedom. Having thus declared a policy, plain, but imperishable, our armies, while winning a glorious and enduring peace, will secure by the same crowning victories the enfranchisement of the human race, and so brighten the future with blessings for the oppressed and enslaved of all the earth, that posterity, amazed at the magnitude of their achievements, will record that as they marched,

> "High in front advanced,
> The brandished sword of God before them blazed
> Fierce as a comet."

"The brandished sword of God?" ay, "the brandished sword of God!" He has led this holy crusade for country and for freedom. When men despaired because they could discover no solution of the dreadful enigma which slavery propounded; when even the Churches quailed before it and prostituted the Bible to the propitiation of the monster, God came to the rescue, and solved the riddle by destroying the sphinx. If God is nowhere else recognized in the Constitution, nevertheless He will speak in every word of this amendment. His providence has nursed it into being. Out of the hard discipline of civil war He has evoked and made intelligible to all men a thought divine, which will ever serve as a guiding inspiration for the nation in its toilsome search to discover by the lights of experience the true philosophy of free government. Therefore, when peace shall again reign with unbroken sway from ocean to ocean and from the lakes to the gulf, and freedom, no longer vexed by the sight of a slave, shall sanctify to perfect fruition the inestimable fruits of labor, then, mindful of their great deliverance, let all the people, as they emerge from the stormy waters and tread again the dry land, join in the song of him who aforetime led his brethren out of bondage:

"Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like Thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?"

"Thou in Thy mercy hast led forth the people which Thou hast redeemed: Thou hast guided them in Thy strength unto Thy holy habitation."

FREEDOM OF SOLDIERS' FAMILIES

SPEECH OF CHARLES SUMNER

In the Senate, Jan. 5, 1865.

MR. PRESIDENT: There was a call only a few days ago for three hundred thousand more troops. The country needs them, and it is the duty of Congress to help supply them. To this end there must be no difficulty, impediment or embarrassment in the way. All these must be removed. But this is not all. There must be encouragement of every kind; and such is the character of the present proposition.

There can be no delay. The country cannot wait the slow action of a Constitutional Amendment, as has been proposed by the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Doolittle). Congress must act to the extent of its power, and any abdication of its power on this question will be injurious to the public interests.

All must confess the humanity of the proposition to enfranchise the families of colored persons who have borne arms for their country. All must confess the hardships of continuing them in slavery.

But the question is asked by many, and even by the Senator from Wisconsin, what power has Congress to set the families free?

Mr. Doolittle—I did not ask that question.

Mr. Sumner—I understood——

Mr. Doolittle—The Senator is entirely mistaken. He is putting a question himself and then answering it. I have not put it at all.

Mr. Sumner—The question has been put again and again, and the whole purport of the speech of the Senator from Wisconsin was in that sense. He argued that we were about to have a Constitutional Amendment which was to supersede everything; that therefore this proposition was unnecessary, if not injurious. I so understood the argument of the Senator, and that it pointed directly to the question of the power of Congress on this occasion, because I know the patriotism of that Senator too well to suppose that, if in his opinion the power of Congress on this occasion was beyond question, he would hesitate. I do not therefore do the Senator any injustice. I say, then, the question is asked, what power has Congress to set the families free? This is the single point on which I shall express an opinion.

My answer is that Congress has precisely the same power to enfranchise the families that it has to enfranchise the colored soldier. The two powers are coincident and from the same source.

It has been already assumed that Congress may enfranchise the colored soldier. This has been done by solemn statute, without any reference to the conduct of his pretended owner. If we were asked the reason for such enfranchisement, it must be found, first, in its practical necessity, that we may secure the best services of the slaves, and secondly, in its intrinsic justice and humanity. In brief, government cannot be so improvident and so foolish as to attempt to obtain the services of the slave at the hazard of life, without securing to him the boon of freedom. Now, if government were so bereft of common sense as to forego this temptation to enlistment and efficient service, could it be guilty of the unutterable meanness of using the slave in the national defence and then returning him to bondage? Therefore the slave who fights is enfranchised.

But every argument, every consideration, which pleads for the enfranchisement of the slave pleads also for the enfranchisement of the family. There is the same practical necessity for doing it, and the same unutterable shabbiness in not doing it.

There is no principle of law better established than the rule that any acknowledged right carries with it all incidents essential to its exercise. I do not employ technical language; but I give the idea, which is founded in reason and the nature of things. It would be vain to confer a right, or a power, if the means for its enjoyment were denied. From this simple statement the conclusion is irresistible.

In conferring upon Congress the power to create an Army, the Constitution conferred the will all the powers essential to the exercise of the principal power. If Congress can authorize the enlistment of slaves, as it unquestionably can, it may at the same time authorize their enfranchisement, and by the same reason it may authorize the enfranchisement of their families; and all this from the necessity of the case, and to prevent an intolerable meanness.

An English patriot, nearly two centuries ago, exclaimed in memorable words that he would give his life *to serve* his country, but he would not do a *mean thing* to save it. If there be any value in this declaration it may well be invoked when it is deliberately argued that the National government can create an army, and in this service can enfranchise the slave which it enlists, but that it is impotent to enfranchise his family. I know not how we can use his right arm and ask him to shed his blood in our defence and then hand over his wife and child to bondage. The case is too clear for argument. The human heart rejects the insufferable pretension.

But it is said that the slave has no family. Such is the argument of slavery. For all that he has, as well as all that he is, even wife and child, belong to another. Surely this unrighteous pretension will not be made the apology for a denial of rights. If the family of the slave be not designated by law, or by the forms of legal marriage, *then it must be ascertained by the next best evidence possible;* that is, by cohabitation and mutual recognition as man and wife. And any uncertainty in this evidence must be regarded as a natural incident to slavery. As men cannot take advantage of their own wrong, so slave-masters, on this occasion, cannot take advantage of slavery. Any other rule would practically unite with slavery in denying to the slave wife and child.

There is a well-known French maxim, that "it is only the first step which costs"—*ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*—and on this occasion, permit me to say, it is only the first stage of the argument which merits attention. Concede that the soldier may be enfranchised, and it follows that by the same constitutional power his family may be admitted to an equal liberty. Any other conclusion would be as illogical as inhuman; discreditable alike to the head and the heart. There is no argument, whether of reason or of humanity, for the enfranchisement of the soldier which does not plead equally for that of his family. Nay, more; I know not how we can expect a blessing on our arms while we fail to perform this duty.

I cannot close what I have to say without adding that, in my opinion, Congress at this moment is complete master of the whole question of slavery everywhere in the United States, even without any Constitutional Amendment. It can sweep it all out of existence, precisely as it can remove any other obstruction to the national defence, and all this by virtue of a power as indisputable as the power to raise armies or to suspend the *habeas corpus*. Future generations will read with amazement that a great people, when national life was assailed, hesitated to exercise a power so simple and beneficent; and this amazement will know no bounds as they learn that Congress higgled for months on the question whether the wife and children of the colored soldier should be admitted to freedom.

DELAWARE.

IN his recent message to the Legislature, Gov. Cannon, of Delaware, urges in forcible language upon that body the propriety and necessity of making the State free. After remarking that "slavery is the cause and soul of the rebellion, and that its immediate extinction and perpetual prohibition are necessary to the preservation of the country," he shows that the system is not now a source of profit to Delaware; that its people have all the disadvantages of such a rude system of labor, without any of its advantages, and that if it could be immediately abolished the value of property would be much increased.

We recommend the following observations of this Governor of a slave State to these Northern free workingmen who still adhere to or are willing to tolerate the slave system. They will see that as a measure of self-defence they ought to insist on the extirpation of slavery:

"In a community where slaves are held as property, the white race is always placed under great disadvantages. Slave labor is uncompensated, white labor is compensated. When the two are brought into competition, white labor is crowded out. Besides, the result of slave labor is to destroy the dignity of labor altogether, so that while at first the effect is to make free labor unprofitable, unremunerative, it now becomes unworthy. If in addition to this, capital absolutely owns its labor, the avenues to honest livelihood are forever closed to the white. This is the cause of much poverty, ignorance and crime. To avoid such a result, there is but one course—that is, to make labor honorable, to make intelligence general, and to establish a government that shall protect and advance the interests and welfare of the very humblest citizen."

The Governor recommends to the Legislature to so readjust the representative apportionment of the different counties as to make it fair. At present each of the three Counties sends ten members; but their free population varies greatly, as will be seen by this table:

Newcastle	54,543
Kent	27,601
Sussex	23,274

Now, the counties which have the smallest population are those in which slavery flourishes. Newcastle has but few slaves—but she has never had her fair and proper representation in the Legislature.—*Eve. Post.*

AN ADDRESS FROM ENGLAND.

To ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States.*

SIR: We congratulate the American people upon your reëlection by a large majority.

If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant warcry of your reëlection is Death to Slavery.

From the commencement of the Titanic American strife, the workingmen of Europe felt instinctively that the Star Spangled Banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories, which opened the dire Epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the emigrant, or prostituted by the tramp of the slave-driver?

When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe, for the first time in the annals of the world, slavery on the banner of armed revolt; when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great democratic republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding "the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old Constitution," and maintained "slavery to be a beneficent institution, indeed the only solution of the great problem of the relation of labor to capital," and cynically proclaimed property in man "the cornerstone of the new edifice"; then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore, therefore, patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention importunities of their "betters," and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good cause.

While the workingmen, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own Republic; while before the negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself, and choose his own master; they were unable either to attain the true freedom of labor or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

The workingmen of Europe feel sure that as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendency for the middle class, so the American anti-slavery war will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working classes, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race, and the reconstruction of a social world.

The Provisional Central Council of the Workingmen's International Association.

ENGLISH.

Longmaid,	Worley,	Leno,
Whitlock,	Fox,	Blackmore,
Hartwell,	Pidgeon,	Lucraft,
Weston,	Dell,	Shearman,
Nieass,	Shaw,	Lake,
Buckley,	Howell,	Osborne,
Carter,	Gray,	Stainsby,
Morgan,	Grossmith,	Dick.

FRENCH.

Denoual,	Jourdain,	Morrissot,
Leroux,	Bordage,	Bosquet,
Talandier,		Dupont.

ITALIAN.

L. Wolf,	Setacci,	Aldrovandi,
Lama,		Solustri.

SWISS.

Nusperli.

GERMAN.

Eccarius,	Wolff,	Otto,
Lessner,	Pfaender,	Loebner,
Kaub,		Bolleter.

POLISH.

Rypozinski.

George Odgers, President of Central Council.
George W. Wheeler, Honorary Treasurer.
Karl Marx, Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Germany.
G. P. Fontana, Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Italy.
J. E. Holtorp, Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Poland.
Herman F. Iung, Honorary Corresponding

amnesty offered for more than a year past, upon specified and more liberal terms, to all except certain designated classes, even these being "still within contemplation of special clemency," and adds: "It is still open to all, but the time may come when public duty shall demand that it be closed, and that in lieu more vigorous measures than heretofore shall be adopted."

It seems to me that it is time for the people of Georgia to act for themselves, and return, in time, to their duty to the government of their fathers.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1865.

GOOD NEWS FROM ILLINOIS.—Mr. Tilton kindly sends us the following telegram, received after the *Independent* of this week had gone to press:

SPRINGFIELD, Jan. 25.

THEODORE TILTON: The Illinois Senate have repealed the Black Laws by a majority of four votes, and the House is certain to concur in this action.

FRANCIS A. EASTMAN.

THE IRON SHROUD.

WE dare say our readers remember the story of the state prisoner who was shut up in an iron-chamber, which contracted itself by some diabolical machinery every night, until at last it crushed him. It was the gradual but certain approach of this catastrophe that constituted the peculiar horror and cruelty of the punishment. Jefferson Davis, as the acknowledged incarnation of the Slaveholders' Rebellion, must feel as if he were in such a narrowing dungeon. He must see his doom coming nearer and nearer every day and know that his time is short. The defeat and rout of Hood in Tennessee, the triumphal progress of Sherman through Georgia, proving much more even than it actually accomplished, crowned by the tame surrender of Savannah, and now the bloody storming of Fort Fisher in a tempest of fire and of iron, involving the speedy fall and present disabling of Wilmington, all these things are the shutting up of casement after casement which let in the light of hope into the dungeon of the Rebellion, leaving the culprit within in darkness and despair. Soon Charleston and Mobile will disappear from his sight, presaging the extinguishment of Petersburg and Richmond, the last loopholes of his hopeless hope, and the crushing of himself and the gigantic conspiracy of which he is the head. The recent victories of the National arms, by land and sea, are full of the most joyful augury. They are victories indeed, not barren of results, but more abounding in practical effects than of military glory. They are welcome, for they are the harbingers of a true peace—of a peace that will endure and will bring forth much fruit of prosperity and greatness. Thomas and Sherman and Terry are the only peacemakers, and they make the Kirkes and Jaquesses and Blairs hide their diminished and ridiculous heads. All peace negotiations within Richmond are virtual suggestions of weakness on our part, and they are so treated by the rebels, looking towards a compromising surrender as the price of peace. The peace negotiations which Grant conducts before Richmond and by his chosen lieutenants in Tennessee, Georgia, and North and South Carolina, are negotiations backed by arguments which bring kings to reason, which speak only of strength and resolution to accomplish the full purpose of the Nation in the deadly struggle in which it is engaged with its parricidal sons.

The desperation and the straits to which the rebels are reduced can be easily enough read in their own newspapers. Distrust and doubt evidently overshadow their minds. They have lost their confidence in their Chief and see little to hope from the wisdom of their Congress. That an earnest yearning for peace is widely prevalent is clear enough from the loud denunciations of any such weakness, the vehement protestations of the strength of the rebellion and the weakness of the Union, and the condemnation of the rebel authorities for not taking measures to prevent this feeling from growing stronger and spreading wider. The fact that these longings for peace are too widely extended to make their violent suppression prudent and possible, is to be seen in the fact that they can make themselves manifest. Three years ago, or one year, the shadow of a suspicion—"the plausible appearance of a probability"—that any such designs or even wishes were harbored by any one would have been his death-warrant, directed to the Provost Marshal or to the mob. Now it is a recognized element of the mind of the rebel community, and has to be treated as a thing, very shocking indeed, but still one to be dealt with wisely and according to law. This is a most significant symptom of the state of the rebel body-politic. The head must be sick if the heart is growing thus faint. Every victory that illustrates our armies or navies, every city that we capture, every port that we close, increases the number of these malcontents and strengthens them in their disaffection. That they will be able to make head against the absolute power which commands the military force of the rebellion, and which thus far seems to feel itself strong enough to permit the existence and the expression of dissatisfaction with itself, is more than we can say. The time is not yet when they can feel themselves strong enough to make any open demonstrations. But with every additional success, with every fresh proof that the downfall of the rebellion is a certain fact and the time of its accomplishment all that rests in doubt, they will grow in numbers and in courage, and will throw a decisive weight, perhaps, certainly a material one, into the scale in which the final issues are to be weighed. The desperate conspirators will hold out as long as they can find men and means, but the men who fell in with their schemes in the hope of a better state of things than they then had, will not be swift to add utter destruction to the signal ruin of all their wilder hopes.

That this description of persons hope that they may retain their property in their slaves by a timely submission to what is inevitable, is hardly to be doubted. The fact that Abolition is one of the ends of the United States government, at this point of the war, is urged upon them by the rebel organs as the main reason to induce them to stand firm by the rebellion. It is not in human nature, in slaveholding human nature at least, to give up a property which is power and prerogative as well, without a struggle to maintain it. And this argument will be urged by their Copperhead allies among ourselves to obtain a human sacrifice as a peace offering to a tottering treason. It is for the statesmanship and the philanthropy of the country, which are now, as alway, in the highest sense of the word, identical, to provide against this importunity and to shut out any such hope. As long as slavery is permitted to exist, constitutionally, anywhere within the domain of the United States, so long will the hope of the slaveholders be strong that they can compass their pardon and yet continue in their crime. There is nothing in nature, or out of nature, so tenacious of life as tyranny, nothing that seizes hold of every chance with such pertinacity and refuses to die so doggedly. The mythological Hydra with its hundred heads, which sprung out afresh as fast as the hero could cut them off, is an apt type of its fiendish vitality. If a breathing place be left to slavery when this war comes to an end, it will be long before its breath will be stopped, though its final doom cannot be averted. All that is vile and mercenary and profligate in politics and in morals will rally around it as a common interest and strive to make it the turning weight again in the political balance. It will furnish a very cave of Adullam for the congregation of all that are in distress, and all that are in debt, and all that are discontented, that they may make common cause together for the spoiling of the people. We believe that the people have come fully to the perception of the truth that there can be no peace—be peace, peace, never so much cried—as long as the one cause and provocation of war exists, and that they have arrived, through much tribulation, at the resolution that it shall perish utterly. Mr. Lincoln evidently perceives this state of mind and state of things, and has embodied his sense of it in his Message and in his policy. We do not therefore apprehend any specific ill effects from such self-commissioned embassies as that of Mr. Blair. He can carry no comfort to the slaveholding faction. He may strengthen the hands of the party that have suffered so long under its tyranny. One thing is now plain, evolving itself from the fire and smoke of battle, that there can be no peace until slavery is effectually destroyed. And no power of President or Congress, even if put forth, can now prevail against that decree of Destiny.

The kindest thing that can be done towards the slaveholders in rebellion is to let them know for a surety that there is no possible chance that they and slavery can return into the Union together. There may be amnesty for them, but not for it. And the only effectual way of doing this so as to put it beyond any peradventure of diplomatic trickery is to pass and ratify the Amendment to the Constitution making the existence of slavery impossible anywhere upon the soil it governs. Then there can be no cavil or question on the subject. If the rebels see that their game is up, as they are fast beginning to see that it is, and are beginning to cast about to see what they can save out of the ruin they have brought upon themselves, they will see that there is one thing that it is impossible that they should save harmless. Slavery they will see cannot return again within the charmed circle beyond the round of which it has been forever exorcised. Nothing will facilitate peace negotiations so much as the adoption of this righteousness. As soon as any change in human condition is fixed and certain, however painful or opposed to inveterate habits, the human mind at once begins to accommodate itself to its new estate, and sooner or later to adapt itself to it. It is uncertainty and doubt that deranges plans and unsettles opinions. Let the possibility of a wreck of slavery being left behind after the war is over be utterly extinguished and the schemes of the rebels and of their allies among ourselves will be disconcerted and disappointed and the terms of the submission can be readily framed and enforced. That this will be done we cannot doubt. The spirit of faction is strong, but it will not strive against hope and against reason. When it is certain that the President will call the next Congress together immediately after the expiration of this one, in case the work be not done now, and also that the Amendment cannot then fail of its constitutional proportion of votes, we think that few Democrats with a future before them will choose to compel such action. They that have no hope of ever coming to the surface again may signalize their departure from public life by this vain oblation to the slavery they love; but no others will deliberately fasten a millstone about their necks which will be sure to keep them at the bottom forever. We are confident, then, that when the Iron Shroud shall have crushed slavery to death in its stern embrace, the Nation will stand ready to pile upon its carcass a mountain weight of law and public opinion which shall put it beyond the possibility of a hateful resurrection.

THE MEANNESS OF COMPLEXIONAL PREJUDICE.

A CORRESPONDENT in Philadelphia gave an account in our columns last week of an important meeting recently held in that city for the purpose of vindicating the right of the colored people to ride in the street cars on the same terms as the whites. The character and high social standing of the gentlemen who took part in the proceedings of that meeting afford good ground for the hope that the proscriptive and odious distinction which they so earnestly denounced, and which now disgraces the Quaker city, will soon be abolished. Among the speakers on the occasion alluded to was our friend J. Miller McKim, who cited two striking examples of the practical working of the proscriptive rule, as follows:

"A lady intimately known to some who are present here this evening—a lady whose presence is welcome in the drawing-rooms and at the tea-tables of some of the most refined people of this city—had occasion some time ago to take one of the street cars that run up Fifth street. She was reluctant to do so, but it was raining, and it was far to the depot, and she had no option. Soon after she took her seat the conductor ordered her to take the platform. 'Why?' she asked. 'I have my orders; you can't ride inside the car; you must take the platform.' She remonstrated, but it was no use. She scorned to go on the platform, but, unwilling to make a scene, she left, and took her chance with the elements.

"This lady was daughter to one of our bravest revolutionary heroes; one who was a prisoner of war in the hands of the British; one who in his day was one of the most respectable citizens of Philadelphia; one whose memory is still cherished by some of the best men in our community. This lady was sister to an accomplished gentleman and brave soldier who fell in the service of his country, and the other day was buried in this city with the honors of war. This lady is aunt to one of our most accomplished young country women; one whose pen has contributed to the value of our chief literary magazine. This lady is the wife of one of the gentlemen who is to address you this evening. I relate her case not because it is a peculiarly hard one, but because it comes closer home to us than do others that might be related of a more flagrant nature. For, be it remembered, there is no more respect due to this lady's feelings and rights than is due to the humblest and darkest-hued sewing woman in the community.

"Nearly three years ago—during the gloomiest days of the war—the nation was electrified and delighted by news of a bold deed done for freedom in Charleston harbor. An engineer of a rebel steamer, with a heart true to liberty and to our national flag, boldly conceived the idea of capturing the vessel and transferring her and her sable crew to the fleet of Com. Dupont, then blockading that port. The feat was as brilliantly executed as it was bravely undertaken. Just as the guns of the Onward were about pouring a broadside into her, her white flag was seen, and her character discovered. Robert Small was the hero of the hour. His name and his gallant behaviour were themes of universal praise. The press of the country eulogized him; Congress passed resolutions in his favor, and voted him a handsome reward. Robt. Small was retained as engineer of his steamer—the Planter—and the vessel did good service for the country. In the process of events the white captain of the Planter having shown the white feather, Robt. Small, the black engineer, was made commander in his place. As such he came to this city, bringing his ship with him, to undergo repairs at our navy yard. One day *that man was turned out of our street cars because of his complexion!* as he and his pilot, a white man, were going to their vessel.

"The facts were these: He took a Thirteenth street car, on his way to the navy yard. He was ordered to leave his seat and 'go forward.' 'I am accustomed to go forward, but why?' 'We allow no man of your color in the cars; you must go forward.' 'No,' said he, 'I can't obey that order. I will remain aft. Is it the law?' he added. 'Yes.' 'Then I will not disobey the law. I will leave the car.' Which he did. The pilot refused to proceed without him, indignantly saying, 'I will follow my captain.'

"Thus, a commander of a United States vessel, honored and honorable above most captains, was ruthlessly expelled from our cars by the rule which we are here to consider. And yet Robt. Small, as a man, was entitled to no more consideration than is the humblest and darkest-hued serving man in our community. For Judge Taney is dead, and Salmon P. Chase occupies his seat; the slave system is dying; barbaric prejudices are passing away, and the time has come when the fact is recognized that *all* men have rights which all other men are bound to respect."

We are glad to learn that the Senate of Pennsylvania, on the 13th inst., passed a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to present a bill, prohibiting any street railway company from making any rule or regulation to exclude any race of people from their cars; and that at the late annual meeting of the Philadelphia and Darby passenger railway company, a resolution was unanimously adopted by the stockholders, instructing the directors to admit colored persons into the cars, and this measure was subsequently adopted by the Board.

GEN. SHERMAN'S LETTER ON RECONSTRUCTION, which appears in another column, affords unmistakable evidence of his unsoundness as a politician. His doctrine that a rebel State, on laying down its arms, will have the right of immediate representation in Congress, is a virtual premium on rebellion and treason, and will never be assented to by the loyal States. The General, fortunately, speaks only for himself, not for the Administration. He had better stick to his fighting, and leave the political issues of the rebellion to be settled by the proper authorities.

RECONSTRUCTION IN LOUISIANA.

Letter from Thomas J. Durant.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 2, 1865.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DEAR SIR: In the letter of your correspondent "Avon," dated Washington, Dec. 11, 1864, which appeared in your paper of the 17th December, some comment is made on the protest presented in the House of Representatives by Hon. Henry Winter Davis, and in the Senate by Hon. B. Wade, against the admission of Senators and Representatives from Louisiana, and the count of an electoral vote cast by the organization assuming to be a State government here.

In summing up the objections of the protest, your correspondent employs epithets which are not contained in it, and which, as the protest itself has not been published in your paper, may lead your readers to suppose it to be deficient in that gravity of expression and propriety of diction, which are alone suited to a document addressed, on so important a question, to a body so exalted as the Congress of our country. This protest has called forth a great deal of invective against its signers, but on reading it you will find that such a mode of dealing with its statements is not apposite or responsive to any of its positions or forms of expression.

The *argumentum ad hominem* has no logical force, and in so far forth requires no answer; yet, as must be admitted, it sometimes renders those to whom it may be addressed indisposed to receive truth from the quarter against which it has been employed to prejudice them.

The facts of the protest are known to all the world to be true; whether the inferences and conclusions believed by the signers to flow from those facts be logically correct, or not, is the only question we have to discuss; and is altogether foreign to any inquiry into the past opinions and conduct of the signers; or the consistency of their present and former views.

Your correspondent says: "There is one fact, however, which is damaging to Mr. Durant, and it is this: he stumped Louisiana under this very 'bogus' government, for the opposing candidate for Governor. *His* candidate was beaten at the polls, and he now calls upon Congress to declare the election wholly void! It is a little too late for that, so far as he is concerned."

The great need of a form of civil administration, by which the loyal population of Louisiana, within the Union lines, might be connected with the government of the United States, began to make itself felt soon after the occupation of New Orleans by the National forces; and as Congress did not make any provision for that end, loyal men in this city, early in the year 1863, introduced before the Union Associations the project of calling a Convention to frame a new Constitution; and, after mature deliberation, the Associations of the city and the adjoining parish of Jefferson adopted the ideas of the project, and appointed delegates to form a Committee to carry them into effect.

This Committee met first on the 8th of May, 1863. It adopted a plan for registration of the loyal men of the State, and the call of a Convention to be elected by such, after a sufficient number of parishes should be brought under the control of the United States. The essential idea of this movement consisted in its being purely of a civil character; aid and protection was asked, indeed, from the Military Governor, Gen. Shepley, but in his reply, dated May 25, 1863, he pointedly adopted the views of the Committee, saying, "Whatever, therefore, I may do in furtherance of your views in relation to the call of a Convention, must be rather in aid of the expression of the popular sentiment than as originating, much less dictating, any form of expression or mode of action."

This principle ought never to have been overthrown, and no military dictation ever should have been made. On the 24th of July, 1863, the Committee adopted a form of oath to be taken by all its members. To the report of the Committee proposing this oath an amendment was offered by a member, born and reared under the slave system, and who had been himself a slaveholder. The amendment was in these words: "Instead of the words, 'organizing a State government in Louisiana loyal to the government of the United States,' as originally reported, substitute the words, 'organizing a FREE State government in Louisiana loyal to the government of the United States.'" This amendment was adopted by a vote of 38 to 4. It was the first public organized movement against slavery in this city. It was adopted by men, most of whom had been slaveholders, and all of whom had been born or lived a great number of years in slave States. It was promulgated in the heart of the slave region; at a point which had been, for long years, the focus of the slave trade of this Valley, and in the district of Louisiana where the institution had been left untouched by the President's proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863. The men who adopted that resolution were in earnest.

On the 1st of August, 1863, the views of the Committee, as previously presented to the Military Governor, Gen. Shepley, were laid before Maj.-Gen. N. P. Banks, commanding the Department of the Gulf, and his aid and counsel invited; to which he did the Committee the honor to reply on the 9th of that month, expressing the satisfaction with which he had read the communication of the Committee, and promising them, kindly, all the aid in his power.

The Military Governor, Gen. Shepley, had, previously to this, on the 12th of June, 1864, ordered a registration of loyal citizens, under the plan proposed to him by the Committee, as preliminary to the call of a State Convention to frame a new Constitution with a view to readmission into the Union.

During the Summer of 1863, Gen. Shepley, the Military Governor, visited Washington and received the approval of the Executive Department upon the measures he had taken.

Subsequently, by a letter from the President, in December, 1863, which reached here in the beginning of January, 1864, the whole business of reorganization was taken out of the hands of the citizens, who had commenced it, and confided exclusively to the Major-General commanding the Department of the Gulf. That officer issued a proclamation, dated "Headquarters Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, Jan. 11, 1864," which said:

"In pursuance of authority vested in me by the President of the United States, and upon consultation with many representative men of different interests, being assured that more than a tenth of the population desires the earliest possible restoration of Louisiana to the Union, I invite the loyal citizens of the State qualified to vote in public affairs, as hereinafter prescribed, to assemble in the election precincts designated by law, or at such places as may hereafter be established, on the 22d day of February, 1864, to cast their votes for the election of State officers herein named, viz.: I. Governor; II. Lieutenant-Governor; III. Secretary of State; IV. Treasurer; V. Attorney-General; VI. Superintendent of Public Instruction; VII. Auditor of Public Accounts; who shall, when elected, for the time being and until others are appointed by competent authority, constitute the civil government of the State, under the Constitution and laws of Louisiana, except so much of said Constitution and laws as recognize, regulate or relate to slavery, which being inconsistent with the present condition of public affairs, and plainly inapplicable to any class of persons now existing within its limits, must be suspended, and they are therefore and hereby declared to be inoperative and void. This proceeding is not intended to ignore the right of property existing prior to the rebellion, nor to preclude the claim for compensation of loyal citizens for losses sustained by enlistments or other authorized acts of the government."

The proclamation also provided that "the oath of allegiance required by the President's proclamation, with the condition affixed to the elective franchise by the Constitution of Louisiana, will constitute the qualification of voters in this election."

It also appointed the day of inauguration, 4th March, 1864; confirmed the registration of voters previously made; ordered an election for delegates to a State Convention for the revision of the Constitution, to be held on the first Monday of April, 1864; gave notice that "arrangements would be made for the early election of Members of Congress for the State"; declared the "fundamental law of the State to be martial law"; that government "had the right to demand that questions of personal interest and opinion should be subordinate to the public good," and that, "when the national existence is at stake, and the liberties of the people in peril, faction is treason."

The proclamation said further: "The methods herein proposed submit the whole question of government directly to the people—first by the election of Executive officers, faithful to the Union, to be followed by a loyal representation in both Houses of Congress—and then by a Convention which will confirm the action of the people, and recognize the principles of freedom in the organic law. This is the wish of the President."

The foregoing proclamation of the Major-General was evidently designed to carry out that of the President, of the 8th of December previous, generally known as the Amnesty proclamation, which invited a tenth part of the population of each of the insurrectionary States to form State governments; promising to such recognition, and the benefits of paragraph 1, section 4 of article IV. of the Constitution of the United States.

The objections to this course were obvious. It is the constitutional duty of Congress alone, and not of the Executive, to readmit States, and provide for their reorganization.

The proclamation recognized a Constitution of the State of Louisiana as being in existence, whereas the State had been proclaimed in insurrection, and its Constitution had, by the act of a Convention held in January, 1861, been placed in hostility to the government of the United States.

It amended the Constitution of the State, which is an act no human power, but the people of a State, can perform.

It ordered the election of State Executive officers, without a Legislature or a Judiciary.

It pretended to attribute to these Executive officers the power to send Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States.

It denied to loyal citizens the right of opinion upon public measures, and denounced the exercise of this inalienable right as the evidence of faction and treason.

The appearance of this proclamation struck us with surprise bordering on incredulity. Looking at it now, it is difficult to ascertain what most abounds in it, absolute departure from constitutional law, usurpation of legislative powers by the Executive, or despotic disposition. It is true we were Abolitionists, but we were also friends of Constitutional government and of individual liberty.

But how stood the case? The man who held absolute power over the loyal people within the Union lines had ordered the election of Governor and other officers. That election was certain to be held; we could not prevent it. The Governor then to be chosen, supported by the military, would have the most important patronage, and would exert thereby a decisive influence on the election for members of the Convention which, it was announced by the general orders, would take place in April following.

It was deemed prudent, therefore, to vote at the election ordered, *but under protest*. Accordingly, soon after the Proclamation of the Commanding General, the Free State General Committee passed resolutions on the subject as follows:

"Resolved, That the Free State General Committee, not relinquishing its judgment that the only true path to reconstruction is a Convention to form a new Constitution before any election for State officers; and not renouncing its lawful claim to have slavery abolished immediately without the danger of any futile scheme of gradual emancipation; and not yielding its assent to the idea that the election of seven executive officers can, by any proper use of terms, be styled the Civil government of Louisiana; but nevertheless recognizing the patriotic duty of endeavoring to place in office men whose opinions are in harmony with the wants of Louisiana and the spirit of the age—will take part in the election."

Subsequently to this, on the 3d of February, 1864, the Major-General commanding the Department of the Gulf issued his general orders, No. 23, in the course of which he said: "Those who have exercised, or are entitled to the rights of citizens of the United States will be required to participate in the measures necessary for the reëstablishment of civil government." "It is therefore a solemn duty resting upon all persons to assist in the earliest possible restoration of civil government. Let them participate in the measures suggested for this purpose. Opinion is free and candidates are numerous. Open hostility cannot be permitted. Indifference will be treated as crime, and faction is treason."

Under such proclamations as these no choice was left. The election of Governor was gone into by us under military duress, and under the reservations of our protest.

Mr. Hahn was the candidate of those who approved the measures of the Major-General commanding; the dissentients supported Mr. Flanders for the office of Governor. The former was hostile to the admission of the men of African descent to the privileges of citizenship; the latter were generally in favor of it. The election resulted in the choice of Mr. Hahn on the 22d February, 1863, since which time there has been no election for Governor within the Union lines in Louisiana. The election, according to the proclamation of the Major-General, established civil government; in the canvass which preceded it, Mr. Durant did speak in the city of New Orleans only in favor of Mr. Flanders; but in doing this did not, as your correspondent accuses him, "stump Louisiana under this very 'bogus' government for the opposing candidate for Governor," since, until the election was over, there was no government, bogus or other.

Mr. D. had held the office of Attorney-General under Gov. Shepley, but resigned upon the appearance of the proclamation of the Major-General ordering an election of Governor, etc., on the 11th January, 1864.

On the 24th of that month, in the course of an editorial article upon the approaching election of Governor, the *Era*, which was generally considered the organ of the opinions of the Major-General commanding, said, summing up the probabilities as to who would be the candidate: "Mr. Durant was a favorite candidate a few days since, and he could undoubtedly receive the nomination of the Free State Convention, if he would accept it; but it is generally understood that he would decline if it were offered to him."

The election of the 22d of February, 1864, or the proceedings on that day which were called an election, gave us conclusive evidence that no result, save that which the Major-General commanding had willed, could by any possibility be achieved.

Having been proposed in the public prints as a candidate for the Convention, the members of which were to be chosen on the 28th March, instead of the first Monday of April, 1864, as at first ordered, to revise (!) the Constitution of the State, Mr. Durant declined the honor of being a candidate in the following card, which appeared in the New Orleans *Times*:

NEW ORLEANS, March 18, 1864.

Editors of the Times:

GENTLEMEN: In your paper of the 13th and subsequently my name has been published as a candidate for member of a Convention, at an election ordered by the military authorites of the Department to be held on the 28th.

Grateful to those who, without consulting me, have thus presented my name, I beg leave to state that:

Believing a Major-General commanding an army in the field has no right to call a Convention to amend or frame a State Constitution, nor to fix the number of delegates, determine the basis of representation, and arrange the details for the election:

Believing the Louisiana Constitution of 1852 was overthrown and destroyed by the rebellion, and cannot be resuscitated by a military order:

Believing, however, that if the Constitution of 1852 be in force, it cannot be changed by the General commanding:

Believing, moreover, that such powers cannot be conferred on the General by the President:

Believing that such powers belong only to Congress and to the loyal people of Louisiana, and that their assumption by others has the effect of anticipating and thwarting the expected action of Congress in fixing the status of all the citizens of Louisiana, and especially of those of African descent, and is in its tendency anti-republican and dangerous to liberty:

I respectfully decline to be a candidate.

THOMAS J. DURANT.

The election of members of the Convention was conducted in the same manner as that of Governor. Although ostentatiously proclaimed to take place in every one of the forty-eight parishes, not a third of the parishes or population took part in it, nor were able to do so if willing; for not a third of them were within the Union lines.

The Constitution which this Convention framed, and the apparent State government which it created, have neither the population, the territory, the loyalty, nor the consideration of a State government and Constitution.

It is not treated as a State by the President. Louisiana made war upon the United States, and the latter have invaded and conquered part of her territory, the same portion which now pretends to be a State. The President has, up to the present moment, dealt with this portion of Louisiana as conquered territory, and never otherwise. He has given Mr. Hahn an informal commission, authorizing him to act as Military Governor. This he could not do in any loyal State.

In the following document he has admitted that the Constitution of Louisiana was overthrown and destroyed by the rebellion, a doctrine which the friends of Gen. Banks's policy in Louisiana have always denied, and his opponents maintained.

Executive Order Establishing a Provisional Court in Louisiana.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Oct., 1864.

The insurrection which has for some time prevailed in several of the States of this Union, including Louisiana, having temporarily subverted and swept away the civil institutions of that State, including the judiciary and the judicial authorities of the Union, so that it has become necessary to hold the State in military occupation; and it being indispensably necessary that there shall be some judicial tribunal existing there capable of administering justice, I have, therefore, thought it proper to appoint, and I do hereby constitute a Provisional Court, which shall be a Court of Record for the State of Louisiana, and I do hereby appoint Charles A. Peabody, of New York, to be a Provisional Judge to hold said Court, with authority to hear, try, and determine all causes, civil and criminal, including causes in law, equity, revenue, and admiralty, and particularly all such powers and jurisdiction as belong to the District and Circuit Courts of the United States, conforming his proceedings, so far as possible, to the course of proceedings and practice which has been customary in the Courts of the United States and Louisiana—his judgment to be final and conclusive. I do hereby authorise and empower the said Judge to make and establish such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the exercise of his jurisdiction, and to appoint a Prosecuting-Attorney, Marshal and Clerk of the said Court, who shall perform the functions of Attorney, Marshal, and Clerk, according to such proceedings and practice as before mentioned, and such rules and regulations as may be made and established by said Judge. These appointments are to continue during the pleasure of the President, not extending beyond the military occupation of the city of New Orleans, or the restoration of civil authority in that city and in the State of Louisiana. These officers shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the War Department, compensation as follows: . . . . Such compensations to be certified by the Secretary of War. A copy of this order, certified by the Secretary of War, and delivered to such Judge, shall be deemed and held to be a sufficient commission. Let the seal of the United States be hereunto affixed.

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, 23d Oct., 1862.

I do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy, duly examined and compared with the original of the Executive Order of the President of the United States, constituting a Provisional Court in the State of Louisiana.

Witness my hand and the seal of the War Department.

Attest: EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.
JOHN BOTTS, Chief Clerk.

No such commission as this could be given to a Judge in any "State in the Union." No such Judge could act in any State restored to the Union. The only justification for such an appointment can be found in the fact that the district where it is made is a conquered territory, governed by the military law of the conqueror. Now the Major-General commanding the Department of the Gulf said that the election of a Governor, etc., on 22d February, 1864, and the installation of those officers on the 4th March, 1864, would constitute the Civil government of the State of Louisiana; you will naturally suppose, then, that after that event, or at any rate after the Convention, and Constitution, and Legislature, and all that, were brought into being, certainly the "Provisional Court in Louisiana" would go out of existence; for does not the "Executive order," given from the "Executive Mansion," on the 29th October, 1862, as above quoted, declare that the appointments of the officers of that Court, including the Judge, "are to continue during the pleasure of the President, not extending beyond the military occupation of the city of New Orleans, or the restoration of the civil authority in that city, *and in the State of Louisiana*"? But the fact is, that the Provisional Court still continues, and holds its sessions every day, up to this very date, and shows no symptoms of being about to close its labors. Here, then, we have the extraordinary spectacle of the Executive authority of our government, at one and the same time, declaring that civil authority is restored in Louisiana, that Louisiana is a State, while by the same authority it is treated as a conquered territory, by subjecting its loyal citizens to the jurisdiction, without appeal, of a tribunal constituted by the military power of the Executive alone, and that, too, on the express ground that Louisiana is a conquered territory.

The Executive then does not consider Louisiana a State.

The military authorities do not treat it as a State, for they do not deem it safe to permit even the most limited trade with as much as one fourth part of the territory of Louisiana.

Here is one of the latest orders on the subject:

HEADQUARTERS DEPT. OF THE GULF,
OFFICE PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL.
New Orleans, Dec. 21, 1864
(Extract.)

SPECIAL ORDERS No. 145.

1. The military approval on Permits for Plantation, Family and Trade Store Supplies, when such Permits do not exceed Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars, will in future be signed by order of the Provost Marshal General by a Commissioned Officer on duty at this Office. This signature shall be valid for all Military Posts and for the following Parishes: St. Bernard, Plaquemine, Orleans, Jefferson, St. Charles, St. John Baptist, St. James, Lafourche, Terrebonne, and as much of Assumption and St. Mary as may be within our military lines.

Capt. Otis Remick, 11th Wisconsin Vet. Vols. and A. D. C. at these Headquarters, is hereby charged with this duty.

By command of Maj.-Gen. Hurlbut, HARAI ROBINSON,
Colonel 1st La. Cav. and Provost Marshal General.
Official:

If you will look on the map, you will see these parishes do not embrace a fourth of the State; so that there is more than three-fourths of its area, into which it is not safe to send even family supplies. What sort of a State, and what sort of loyalty is this?

The citizens elected to fill the State offices have no confidence in its civil administration, and pronounce it powerless to punish offenders, because, they declare, the ordinary Courts of Justice are insufficient for the purpose. The Attorney-General of the "State," nine months after the pretended restoration of civil authority, is compelled to ask a military commission to supersede the civil tribunals. The following order is most instructive as to the condition of affairs here:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF.
NEW ORLEANS, December 27, 1864.
(Extract.)

SPECIAL ORDERS No. 349.

* * * * *

3. Upon the official report of the Attorney-General of the State of Louisiana, that the ordinary courts of justice are insufficient to punish the offenders named by him, and in consideration that the State government and Courts of Louisiana owe their present existence to military authority, it is ordered that Micheal DeCourcey, Benjamin Orr, E. McShane, Y. M. Robinson, A. G. Pierson and B. Wadsworth, for peculation and other offences, be sent for trial before the Military Commission now in session in the city of New Orleans, and of which Brig.-Gen. B. S. Roberts, U. S. Volunteers, is President, and that the Attorney General of the State of Louisiana be admitted to appear before said commission as public Prosecutor.

* * * * *

By command of Maj.-Gen. Hurlbut.
(Signed) C. S. SARGENT,
1st Lieut. 3d La. Vols. and A. A. A. General,

The above demonstrates that the military look upon Louisiana, just as she is treated by the President, who retains his provisional court here; that is to say, as a conquered territory, and the government as a mere emanation of military authority; and it shows, further, that in the most essential and important element of civil government, so far as such has been attempted, the administration of justice, its highest law officer pronounces it a failure. What more proof is required from its opponents than this?

No liberty has been established for the negro. If he be really free, he is as free as I am. Nobody compels me to work by the year, nor is any white man compelled to do so. No law compels a white laborer to remain on a plantation or farm. The negro has not obtained the only right he needs, that of being let alone.

In the Legislature of this "free State," the recent proposal to give suffrage to the men of African descent was treated with contempt, and rejected by an overwhelming majority; but without suffrage how can he protect or improve himself? He is now governed by a caste which have no feeling toward him but bigoted and unfounded hatred. Not long since, one Michael Gleason, a white man, was tried before a Court and Jury in this city, on an indictment for the murder of a negro boy, by wantonly and without the slightest provocation throwing him into the Mississippi river, from a steamboat lying at the levee, and thus causing his death by drowning. Four eye-witnesses, all of African descent, testified to the horrid crime; there was no countervailing evidence on the part of the accused, but he was at once acquitted by the Jury. Mr. Attorney-General B. L. Lynch, who was elected on the 22d of February, 1864, at the same time with Mr. Hahn, the Governor, had, under the same military order from the Major-General commanding the Department of the Gulf, prosecuted this case with an honorable zeal for the cause of public justice.

In subsequently commenting on this deplorable result, Mr. Lynch said: "I spared no pains, I resorted to every legitimate means in my power to succeed in bringing upon the head of the murderer the punishment richly due to his appalling crime. I failed! and why did I fail? It was, in my opinion, on account of the color of the poor murdered youth! It was on account of the complexion of the four truthful witnesses, whom the Jury affected not to believe. It is enough to chill the blood to reflect on the horrid verdict of the twelve men, who swore they would 'true deliverance make,' and who, in effect, decided last Monday, in the First District Court of New Orleans, that colored people are outside the protection of the laws, for the maintenance of which they are gallantly baring their bosoms to the bullets and the bayonets of the enemy, on the battle-fields of the rebellion."

This official exposition of the condition to which, under this abnormal State government, the citizens of African descent are reduced, ought to arrest the attention of the friends of freedom throughout the nation. If the man of color is thus to be left to the despotism of rulers who have no sympathy with him, what a snare and a delusion is the pretended gift of liberty? The remedy is a very plain one; we must establish justice and equality of rights before the law. The men of African descent must have a material guaranty for his rights, placed under his sole and exclusive control. But under this "State government" there is no hope of such legislation as will accomplish the desired ends.

Under a tuition, which can be conjectured without being positively known, the last Constitutional Convention, after having expressed by a decisive vote its hostility to the civil and political privileges of the colored man, subsequently adopted a clause which is article number 15 of the Constitution in these words: "The Legislature shall have power to pass laws extending suffrage to such other persons, citizens of the United States, as by military service, by taxation to support the government, or by intellectual fitness may be deemed entitled thereto."

The plain duty of the Convention was to extend the suffrage at once, if they thought it right, as they pretended to, and not to adopt a clause which promised what it was well known would not be performed.

On the 15th of November, 1864, a bill was introduced into the "State Senate," to carry out this very clause of the Constitution, when a motion, immediately made, to reject, was carried by a vote of fifteen to five.

No one believes that under the premature organization now existing, there is anything to found a better hope upon.

You have now some of the main objections made by the friends of freedom in Louisiana to the proceedings commenced by the Major-General commanding the Department of the Gulf in January 1864, and still going on. It is to be hoped that the readers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and the public will consent to judge these proceedings and the law applicable to them, and the results flowing from them, without reference to the want of influence or even of consistency which may possibly with justice be imputed to one of the most humble of the signers of the protest, who remains, with great respect, Your most obedient servant,

THOMAS J. DURANT.

ORGANIZATION OF COLORED SCHOOLS IN SAVANNAH.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE colored people of Savannah have formed an Educational Association, and already raised seven hundred dollars for the support of schools. This Association has established two schools, numbering five hundred children. They occupy at present two buildings assigned them by Gen. Geary. There is a striking fact in reference to one of these buildings—"A. Bryan's Negro Mart"—a large three story brick building near the market-house. It has always been used as a place where slaves were kept for sale. The keeper left hastily on the approach of the Union army, leaving behind him office furniture, iron safe, letters, books, papers, hand-cuffs, whips, paddles and other paraphernalia of the infamous traffic.

Two hundred and fifty children now meet daily in this building for instruction. The other building was formerly used as a medical college, and contains many commodious rooms. I think there is no instance on record that evinces a greater appreciation of the responsibilities of freedom than this enterprise, which the colored people of this city have started.

The teachers are the best educated ones among our people here. They were examined by Rev. J. W. Alvord, Secretary American Tract Society, and myself.

Of course, teachers will be needed from the North, and will be welcomed by this Association; but the more intelligent of the colored people are determined on using, as much as possible, their own instrumentality for their elevation.

Revs. M. French, J. W. Alvord and myself have held several mass meetings of the colored people here. Each was overwhelming in numbers and enthusiasm; opened generally by singing the hymn,

"The year of jubilee has come,
Return ye ransomed *bondmen* home."

You see we altered it a little.

It is often said that the Freedmen's Aid Societies will not encourage colored teachers who are willing to give themselves to the work of educating the Freedmen, though they are ever so competent. We intend to fairly test that in Savannah, as well as make the trial of having our folks rely on themselves to the fullest extent possible.

The colored teachers here desire that a Normal School, under a competent person from the North, should be established.

There are six colored churches here. Three of them have large organs and fine choirs. The pastors of four of them have always been colored men. Three of these churches are decidedly very fine edifices, and cost not less than ten thousand dollars each.

The Secretary of War has been spending a few days here. At his own request I brought to his rooms a colored delegation, eighteen in number, all intelligent and earnest men. The Secretary gave them audience at Maj.-Gen. Sherman's headquarters. The interview lasted from 9 o'clock until 12½—three hours and a half. Matters touching the interests of the colored people were freely spoken of. As nearly every word spoken was written at the time, and as it may be an index of sentiment at Washington, I will enclose a copy of account of the interview. (1)

We all left Mr. Stanton feeling that he was true to liberty and justice. Gen. Sherman was present most of the time, and there can be no doubt that he desires to promote the welfare of the colored race. He has more respect for the native ability of the colored race than might be expected of one who is supposed to be Conservative.

I might fill columns with an account of the people, but I write in great haste. Everything is encouraging.

More anon, JAMES LYNCH,
Missionary and Superintendent of Freedmen.

(1) We regret to say that the account here spoken of was not enclosed. We hope to get it hereafter. Every friend of the Freedmen will be anxious to see it. —*Editor*.

RUFFIANISM AT WASHINGTON.

A. P. FIELD, one of the Representatives of the "reconstructed" State of Louisiana, who is waiting at Washington for the decision of the U. S. House of Representatives upon his claim to a seat in that body, made a brutal assault upon the Hon. W. D. Kelley, member of the House from Pennsylvania, on Friday evening, 20th inst, at Willard's Hotel. On the following day the case was investigated before a magistrate. We copy the report of proceedings from the *National Intelligencer*:

"Judge Kelley was sworn, and testified that he had been spending the evening of Friday with some friends, and went to Willard's to supper. While at table Judge Field accosted witness with the remark, 'Why do you keep us out in the cold? Why don't you admit us like a man?' Witness replied, 'I have nothing to do with admitting you; the question is in the Committee, and it is not yet before the House.' Then he said, with an oath, 'Why do you not come up like a man, and toe the line?' Witness remarked, in subdued tones, 'Judge Field, if you will inquire of my friends you will find I am in the habit of toeing the mark, of marching up to the line.' He then broke out more violently, 'You dare not go home and face your constituency; you would quail before them.' To this witness replied, 'Judge Field, my constituency will not rebuke me for excluding a man like you, who, before ladies, can act as you are doing.' He then, uttering another oath, quitted the room, remarking as he did so, 'I will hold you responsible; you shall feel me for that.' Witness left the supper room in about fifteen or twenty minutes thereafter, and on passing into the hall saw Judge Field conversing with other gentlemen. Witness endeavored to avoid Judge Field, but the latter caught him by the collar of the coat, and, inflicting a blow, exclaimed, 'You shall give me satisfaction.' Judge Field attempted to inflict a second blow, but his arm was caught by Major Harper.

"In answer to a question of Judge Field witness denied that he had told him (Field) to go back and tell the people of Louisiana to send a more decent man here.

"Major Harper, who was present at the table, and when the rencontre took place, testified to the same facts as did Judge Kelley. Witness saw Judge Field inflict the blow, and denied that Mr. Kelley told Judge Field to tell the people of Louisiana to send a more decent man here.

"Justice Boswell held accused to bail in the sum of five hundred dollars, to answer the charge of assault and battery; and at the request of Judge Kelley he was also placed under bonds of one thousand dollars to keep the peace toward Mr. Kelley for the space of six months. Mr. John D. Hammack became bail in both cases."

Judge Field, while waiting for the action of the House upon his claim to a seat, has enjoyed the privilege of admission to the floor. On Monday, on motion of Mr. Schenck of Ohio, the House adopted a resolution appointing a Committee to investigate the outrage, with power to send for persons and papers, and declaring that until the report of the Committee shall be made

the privileges heretofore accorded to Mr. Field are suspended.

Whatever the House may decide to do in regard to the other claimants to seats from Louisiana, we hope it will bar its doors against Mr. Field, whose "plantation manners" are worthy of the time when the slaveholders, by "ruffian threats of cord and steel," bore absolute sway in the Capitol.

PERSONAL.

Anna E. Dickinson speaks at Poughkeepsie on Friday evening of the present week. She will lecture in this city Feb. 14th.

Charles Sumner has declined the invitation of a Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature to deliver a eulogy upon Edward Everett before that body.

William H. Burleigh, who, it is superfluous to say, is an able writer and eloquent speaker, will gladly respond to invitations to lecture within a reasonable distance of New York, where he may be addressed.

Gen. Butler is said to have had a long and pleasant interview with the President on the 18th inst. After completing the business which called him to Washington, he will go to his home in Lowell to await the further orders of the government.

Rev. D. A. Wasson has accepted the call of the First Unitarian Society of Cincinnati, and left Worcester, Mass., for his new charge, carrying with him the warm wishes of a large circle of personal friends for his continued health and enlarged usefulness.

The extracts on the first page from the speech of Mr. Cresswell of Md. on the Constitutional Amendment are worthy of special attention as illustrating the great change in public opinion effected by the war. His testimony in regard to the behavior of the emancipated slaves in Maryland is alike valuable and timely.

Influential Radical anti-slavery politicians are laboring to put Gov. Andrew in the Cabinet. We certainly hope they may succeed, for of all the public men in the nation no one is better qualified to be an adviser of the President, while no one possesses in larger measure the confidence of loyal men. He is a man of fine business capacity and energy, sound in judgment and uncompromising in his devotion to liberty.

The opponents of Henry Wilson in the Massachusetts Senate, who succeeded in inducing that body to pass a resolution to postpone the ballot for U. S. Senator till the middle of February, in the hope of thereby preventing his reëlection, are discomfited. The pressure of public opinion was such that the Senate reconsidered its resolution to postpone, and decided to ballot for Senator on the 20th inst. The result was: For Wilson 37, for J. A. Andrew (who positively declined to be a candidate and avowed himself in favor of Wilson) 3! The House had previously voted for Wilson almost unanimously.

A correspondent of the *Evening Post* writes that Mr. William D. Snow, the new United States Senator from Arkansas, was elected by two-thirds of the votes of both houses in Joint Convention. He was born in the town of Webster, Worcester County, Mass., in 1830, is a strong anti-slavery man, was formerly a Whig, and subsequently a zealous Republican. He has resided in Arkansas for several years and is universally known and respected as a man of a high order of intellect and much experience in political matters. The Legislature that elected him was composed chiefly of members born in slave States.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

OUR columns are so crowded this week that we cannot give to the proceedings of Congress the space they deserve. The cruel treatment of Union prisoners by the rebels was brought to the notice of the Senate on the 18th, when Mr. Howard of Michigan introduced a resolution declaring that rebel officers in our hands "ought to be subjected to like treatment as that practiced toward our officers and soldiers in the hands of the insurgents, in respect to quality of food, clothing, fuel, medicine, medical attendance, personal exposure, or other mode of dealing with them," and providing for the carrying out of this plan of retaliation. On Tuesday Mr. Sumner presented resolutions, as a substitute for that of Mr. Howard, setting forth that it would be impracticable, immoral and degrading for the government to imitate the practice of the rebels in the treatment of rebel prisoners, and reiterating the determination of the people to put down the rebellion. Mr. Sumner supported the views expressed in these resolutions in a long and able speech. Mr. Wade and Mr. Howard spoke in favor of retaliation. No vote was taken. On Monday Mr. Clark of New Hampshire introduced a joint resolution declaring that "no negotiation, terms of settlement, or concession, or compromise, be entered into, proposed, yielded or made with the rebels, directly or indirectly, until they have manifested their implicit and unconditional submission to the authorities of the government; and further, that however much peace may be desired, the present war must be waged with all the resources and energy of the government, until said submission shall be secured, and the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws established over the entire territory of the United States, as heretofore claimed." No question was taken upon this resolution, which lies open for debate.

In the House on the 18th, the Military Committee was instructed to inquire in regard to the prisoners confined in the Old Capitol and Carroll prisons, whether any of them are held contrary to law, etc. On Monday the House adopted a joint resolution—ayes 97, nays 40—to reduce the duty on printing paper used for books and newspapers to three per cent. *ad valorem*. On the same day Mr. Brooks of New York rose to a question of privilege, and presented a letter received by him from Gen. Butler, which he affected to regard as intended to prepare the way to a challenge to fight a duel. The letter was nothing more than a respectfully-worded request to be informed whether Mr. Brooks had actually used the opprobrious language respecting Gen. Butler which the report of his remarks in the *Globe* attributed to him. [Mr. Brooks had denounced the general as a "gold robber," "robber of the public treasury," etc.] The Speaker ruled that the letter was not a challenge, nor in any sense a breach of Mr. Brooks's rights as a member of the House, and therefore no question of privilege could be founded upon it. Mr. Brooks appealed from the Speaker's decision, and a fierce debate followed, in the course of which the venerable Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania gave Brooks a well-deserved lashing. On Tuesday Mr. Boutwell of Massachusetts made a very able and conclusive defence of Gen. Butler, citing documentary proofs of the falsity of Brooks's charges. Brooks made an evasive and personal reply. Messrs. Cox, Ingersoll, Stevens, and Gooch also participated in the debate, which closed by the withdrawal of the appeal from the decision of the chair.

THE RUMORS OF PEACE.—The daily journals, during the past week, have teemed with all sorts of conflicting rumors and speculations in regard to the object of Mr. Blair's second visit to Richmond, and we observe that some earnest friends of liberty in Congress and elsewhere are apprehensive that the President, if not ready himself to make peace upon unworthy conditions, is in danger, through the intrigues of others, of falling into a trap. We certainly hope that all fears of this sort are groundless, and that they are so we think the following statement of the Washington correspondent of the *Tribune* affords evidence:

"The President has this evening stated to leading Representatives in Congress that this mission of Mr. Blair is upon his own personal motion, and is his own affair, that he has no idea that it will have any other or better result than his first visit to Jeff. Davis had, that he had no confidence in its profitableness at all, but that Mr. Blair wanted to go. He added that the mission in his judgment had no significance whatever."

The *Times* of this city is perhaps as likely as any other paper to be well-informed in regard to the designs and purposes of the Administration, and we venture to guess that time will confirm the statements made in the following telegram from that paper of Wednesday:

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Jan. 24.

Speculation concerning the Blair mission to Richmond has almost wholly ceased. It is generally understood now that Mr. Blair did not go to Richmond in any sense as the representative of the government, and that he is not authorized to encourage the hope that any overtures for peace will be made or accepted which look, however remotely, toward a division of the Union. Nor is it believed in any quarter that the rebel authorities are prepared to treat for a termination of hostilities on any other basis than that of independence. Popular sentiment has undoubtedly overrated the desire of the rebel government for peace. They have still powerful armies in the field, and although the people of the Southern States are sick of the contest and ready to return to the Union, the authorities at Richmond are as obstinate as ever. When their armies are destroyed, they will make peace; but even then it will be from necessity, not choice.

The same correspondent said on a previous day: "It is untrue, as has been reported, that Francis P. Blair was in consultation with the President and Cabinet previous to his recent departure for the South." In a few days, at farthest, the results of Mr. Blair's second visit will be manifest, and a speculation now is only a waste of time and energy that might be put to a good use.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22, 1865.

PEACE rumors are so abundant in Washington that the intelligent observer can no longer disregard them, or pass them by without comment. For weeks I have been inclined to think that there could be nothing in them, and that the President was simply indulging an old man in his whims—both the President and the old man acting foolishly, and nothing worse. The subject, however, begins to assume a more serious importance. Mr. Blair has gone to Richmond the *second* time, and while he was taking leave of the President on Friday morning, a government steamer lay at the wharf, steam up, waiting for him, and the moment he arrived in his carriage, and was fairly on board, the lines were cast off and he started on his way. The local newspapers chronicle his departure as if he were an Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Jeff. Davis. It is no longer possible to acquit the President of responsibility in the matter, for Mr. Blair reported to him the success of his first mission, and has been permitted to make a second. Indeed, I think it may be fairly said that he went with the positive *sanction* of the President. If he did, there is mischief in this new Peace movement. Montgomery Blair, the son of the "self-constituted" peace commissioner, assures his friends here that his father has strong hopes that the war is at an end, and that there will be no need of a Spring campaign. In other words, he has good reasons for believing that Jeff. Davis and his rebel confederates will agree to put an end to the war, abandon the rebellion and the doctrine of secession, and come back to the Union. The older Blair is at this moment discussing *terms* of peace with the leading rebels—there can be no doubt of this fact.

Now, who is deceived? Which side will be cheated? For one, I am not prepared to believe that the rebel leaders are ready to come back into the Union. Is it possible? The President has shown himself on many occasions a sagacious man. No man has ever accused him of lacking shrewdness. It has been the boast of his friends that he possesses what they call in the West "horse sense." But the secret movement now going on staggers one's faith in Mr. Lincoln's sagacity. If he is not careful, he will find himself in a trap from which he cannot easily escape.

Let us suppose a case: Mr. Blair arranges for a Commission to come to Washington, and it returns with him, seeking an interview with the President. They offer submission to the government upon condition of a general amnesty, and that slavery shall not be abolished in the States except by Constitutional Amendment or the action of the Courts. What can Mr. Lincoln reply to such a proposition? He is pledged not to make peace unless slavery is abolished in the rebel States. But a new issue would be raised, the Opposition would carry it to the people, a grand peace agitation would be started in all the free States. The cry would be for Peace *and* Union, and the Administration as well as the Administration majority in Congress would be swept away before the peace-*furore*. So it seems to me, and if this should be the result, Abraham Lincoln and Horace Greeley would be responsible for it. They are, it seems, determined to get an offer of *terms* from Jeff. Davis. What if they should be of such a character as they could not conscientiously accept, yet which would cunningly appeal to the selfishness of the Northern people, and take from the Administration that moral support which it must have, to conduct the war to a successful issue? If Jeff. Davis consents to Union with slavery untouched, can the President go on raising men under the new call by draft?

We shall soon know something more respecting Mr. Blair's mission. It is suspected by some persons here that Davis, Benjamin and others are *using him* for a purpose—that they hope to cheat this government into a cessation of hostilities. They will not succeed in this endeavor, for Grant and Sherman are pushing the war most vigorously at the same time that Mr. Blair discusses peace. We shall lose nothing, therefore, in that way. The Opposition in Congress, however, hope to gain much by the mission of Messrs. Blair and Singleton to Richmond. *They expect to raise a new issue* before the American people. It is possible (it still seems probable to me) that the rebel leaders will refuse to agree to any terms that do not include a recognition of their independence. If they do that, the President can then call upon the Opposition to support him heartily in his further prosecution of the war, or at least that portion of the Opposition which is not secretly favorable to Southern independence. Look at the whole matter in the most favorable light, and it is a most dangerous business, and all the lovers of their country and government will rejoice when it is announced that Mr. Blair has come back from Richmond to return no more till the war is ended.

Gen. Butler still remains in Washington, and it is rumored that the Committee conducting the investigation of the first Wilmington expedition is inclined to exculpate him from all blame *upon the facts*. It is too soon, however, to come to such a conclusion, as all the evidence is not in. It is not a secret, though, that the Committee was astonished, not at the statement, but at the *facts and documents* presented by Gen. Butler. It is also reported here that the President, while acquiescing in Gen. Grant's order of removal and supercedure, is at the same time determined not to spare him from the service, and that he will soon have the command of a Department.

Secretary Stanton is understood to agree with Gen. Grant in the propriety of the removal of Butler. His letter to the President from Fortress Monroe looks very much like it.

AVON.

A CHAPLAIN'S APPEAL.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SITTING six inches deep in the mud, I should like to present you an idea of my surroundings, and also some of my thoughts.

My house is a little eight-by-ten, six feet high, built of secesh logs, and covered with pieces of shelter tent, picked up on the battle-field, and sewed together for that purpose. A spacious fire-place, filled with blazing pine knots, flashes out its weird light, and radiates a general warmth, supplying the only physical comfort the den affords.

I have just come in from a terrific cruise after timber, with which to erect a regimental chapel.

We have just been favored with the second edition of Noah's flood, said flood having converted these "Old Virginia lowlands" into one vast quagmire. Had I been in the possession of the "Galena," I could have accomplished my task almost as easily. The flood had floated off the corduroy bridges, and effectually concealed all deceptive holes in the road.

So, after a thousand and one terraqueous adventures, a load was procured, and a start made, when matters indicated that a through road to China direct was quite imminent. Not wishing to pay a visit to the celestials, we speedily unloaded, when, by dint of every shoulder to the wheel, and the liberal use of the whip on the mules, and the application of sundry oaths, out came the wagon, minus the wood. At a late hour we returned to camp, thankful that we had not stuck so deep that a six-mule team could not pull us out. But our chapel is going up, and will be completed in spite of Jeff Davis and the devil. On my return to camp I was informed that a delegate of the "Christian Commission" had been at the regiment and left a supply of papers for distribution among the men. I was exceedingly glad, for the soldiers manifest the most eager anxiety to read, and I have found it almost impossible to procure reading matter for them. The dailies circulate in the army, but as they retail at ten cents, and the men are now in the middle of the fifth month of pay due, it is impossible for many to procure the papers.

Nine hundred men depend upon me for their supply of miscellaneous and religious reading. Judge, then, of my surprise on finding just seventeen papers. Really, Mr. Editor, my heart often aches. A bright-eyed boy of sixteen, from his far off Northern home, accustomed to books and papers in boundless abundance, timidly enters my tent and inquires, "Chaplain, have you anything for me to read?" and mortified and grieved, I am compelled to send him empty away. This ought not so to be. To meet the want I confidently apply to the readers of the STANDARD. It numbers among its readers many "Friends," some "Progressive Friends," who are always intelligent and benevolent, and though they may not approve of phlebotomy as practiced by Gen. Grant, yet I know they sympathize with the soldier individually, and will endeavor to relieve his wants and contribute literature, as one of the most powerful agencies in man's moral and mental elevation. I could court no more exalted offer than the weekly donation to my regiment of one hundred copies of the STANDARD, fresh and new. Old papers are hardly the thing. We expect something fresh and new in a paper. But we entertain no doubt that the intelligent readers of the STANDARD have tomes of just such literature as the soldier needs and desires; literature that is becoming musty and moth-eaten, but that yet might be sent on a mission of mercy and errand of love. Send us bound volumes—a box full of them—we will pay the express charges. *Harper's Magazine, Atlantic Monthly, Ladies' Repository, Guide to Holiness*, and others of a similar kind, are what we particularly desire. Old and odd numbers will answer the purpose. Just now a young man came asking where he can obtain six question books, and an equal number of pocket Bibles. Can any of the readers of this paper answer, and will they? I am offering up the prayer of nine hundred immortal men; will not the liberty-loving, book-devouring and newspaper-devoted North hear this prayer, uttered in behalf of their fathers, brothers, and sons now fighting freedom's battles?

Articles whether for the mind, body or spirit, reach us now through the express. The mail is equally available. We will become responsible for the due delivery of any article sent to J. S. LAME,

Chaplain 93d Regt Penn. Vols., 6th Corps.

[We commend this appeal to our readers, one and all. Mr. Lame is a true-hearted anti-slavery man, formerly a Methodist preacher in Maryland, where he endured no little persecution. Thank God! Maryland is now free! In the present condition of the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society it is not in our power to send the STANDARD to soldiers. If friends of the Anti-Slavery cause would only contribute a fund for that purpose, we would gladly respond to Mr. Lame's appeal.—*Editor.*]

CANADA.—The Canadian Parliament has suspended Judge Coursal and appointed a Committee to investigate his conduct in releasing the St. Albans raiders. The Governor-General has recommended an appropriation to refund the $90.000 stolen at St. Albans and returned to the raiders when they were released by Judge Coursal. The proposition was received with favor and will probably pass. The government at Washington, it is said, has received information that the Canadian authorities are determined to remove all causes of dissatisfaction on the part of this country, growing out of recent occurrences. This will probably lead to the speedy abrogation of the passport system so far as it relates to Canada.

OBITUARY.

MAJOR JOSEPH W. PAINE.

"The knights are dust,
And their good swords are rust,
Their souls are with the saints, we trust."
—*Coleridge.*

ANOTHER has been added to the mighty martyrdom of the rebellion—another costly gift presented to the American Union—another noble name appended to the long list of those who have fallen in this holy war and modern crusade against rebellion. JOSEPH WARREN PAINE, who died suddenly in New Orleans, La., Nov. 25, 1864, was born in Boston, March, 1832. He was a son of Elias W. Paine, an old merchant of that city. For several years he was associate editor and publisher with Wm. Matthews (now Professor of Belles Lettres in the University of Chicago) of the *Yankee Blade*, a journal overflowing with the "best things" to be found in the columns of the newspaper press of that day. More recently Paine was connected with several of the leading Life Insurance Companies of New York, but continued to contribute fugitive pieces—some of great beauty and deep feeling, others abounding in humor—to some of the principal Boston and New York journals. He entered the service in the Summer of 1863, as First Lieutenant Thirteenth New York Cavalry, and served with ability and success in Virginia, gaining great credit for the persistence with which he hunted Mosby, the guerilla. He on one occasion chased him for one hundred hours. Early in 1864 he received, through the Colonel of the regiment, a commission as Major of the Fourth U. S. Colored Cavalry, and at once proceeded to the Department of the Gulf to join his new command. He probably recruited more men for the *Corps d'Afrique* than any other officer in it. During the Red river campaign he was indefatigable. His plan of recruiting was peculiar. Taking a squad of colored cavalry, he would go outside of the lines, capture all the horses and mules he could lay hands on, and mounting thereon all the recruits he could get, march back to camp. It was amusing to see him march his "Ebony Brigade" past the "starchy regiments" from Northern States. "Halloa, what have you got there?" would be the salutation. "Horace Greeley's body-guard," he would laughingly reply, and march on. And what is more, he would not bring the husband and father and leave the family to suffer. If he promised a negro to bring his family to New Orleans, the family came, general and special orders to the contrary notwithstanding. His perseverance was wonderful. It was no use to say "no." On one pretext or another he would go back until he obtained his desire. On the Red River campaign, he was refused an order which he thought necessary for the good of the corps and his recruits, at least six times, but not discouraged he applied again, and obtained his wishes. The writer of this has seen him "amidst the clangor of resounding arms," and no man could display more dauntless courage. In August it was evident that he had overworked himself, and he obtained a furlough and came to the North to recruit his health, but instead of doing so by taking rest, he entered the political campaign, supporting the Administration, with pen and voice. The second week of November he returned to New Orleans, before his health was sufficiently restored, and within a week of his arrival there was a corpse. His remains were embalmed and sent to Massachusetts for interment. Such is the story of the short career of a man by nature a philanthropist, on principle an Abolitionist—a man who had no enemies but those opposed to the good cause which he supported. Everybody loved him for his warm-heartedness, his sincerity, and his fidelity to principle. His social traits were of the kindest description. Full of song and story, of wit and humor, he was the delight of every circle in which he moved. No officer in his regiment was so popular, and they in common with his troops of friends deplore his early death—as much "dead on the field" as if he had been struck down by a rebel bullet. A grateful country will honor his memory, for

"Who dies in vain
Upon his country's war fields, and within
The shadow of her altars?"

—*Army and Navy Journal.* J. G. W.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

Gen. Sherman is on the march through South Carolina, but to what point—whether Charleston or Branchville—is not clear. The Washington correspondent of the *Times* says: "Gen. Sherman writes privately to high officials here, most encouraging views of the situation in South Carolina. There is no point of importance in that State that does not lie at his mercy. Late Richmond papers announce that seven days ago he was at McPhersonville, forty miles from Branchville, and there is no doubt that he is by this time in possession of that point. Panic prevails throughout South Carolina."

The news from the forces near Wilmington is cheering. On the 16th the enemy blew up Forts Caswell and Campbell, and abandoned them and the works on Smith's Island, and those at Smithville and Reeves's Point. These places were occupied by the navy. The whole number of guns captured amounts to 162. A large number of small arms also fall into our hands, besides quantities of ordnance and commissary stores. Our casualties at Fort Fisher prove smaller than at first reported. They foot up thus: Twelve officers and one hundred and seven men killed; forty-five officers and four hundred and ninety men wounded.

It is understood that Gen. Grant, while here, expressed his conviction that Wilmington is already in our possession, as Gen. Terry appeared before it and demanded its surrender on the 19th. The tone of Richmond papers indicate that the rebels had not the slightest hope of holding it.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

Of Fort Fisher and its adjoining works, Commodore Porter says, in his official report, that their strength was "greatly beyond what he had conceived." "An engineer," he adds, "might be excusable in saying they could not be captured except by regular siege. I wonder even now how it was done." This voluntary justification of the withdrawal of Gen. Butler—for such, no doubt, it was intended to be—is worthy of the proverbial frankness of a sailor. Gen. Butler, it will be remembered, had neither a siege train nor intrenching tools, commanded a much smaller force than Gen. Terry, and had an enemy to confront outside the fort stronger than his own command. But history will set that matter right in due season.—*Tribune.*

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom*."—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

Reported Cruelty to Negroes by Sherman's Army.

From The Tribune.

Brevet-Maj.-Gen. Jeff. C. Davis, commanding the Fourteenth Army Corps in Sherman's Army, is before the United States Senate for confirmation. The following recital of his treatment of negroes on the recent march through the cotton States is taken from a letter in this city, written by a soldier, an eye-witness of the facts he narrates.

"There is one incident, the blackest of the war, I want to tell you. The negroes along the entire route were our friends and informants in all matters, both as to movements of the enemy and the places where he had secreted his stores. After using them in this way, they naturally wanted to follow us to avoid the vengeance of their masters, and they came. The able-bodied men were employed, but the women and children followed also, under shadow of our protection. They were no incumbrance, and interfered in no way with our movements. They were simply an eyesore, and came in spite of advice to the contrary. After following us some time, on coming to a bridge over Buck Head Creek, Brig.-Gen. Jeff. C. Davis, who commanded our corps, turned them back and destroyed the bridge behind us, leaving them to the mercy of our pursuers, *i. e.*, the rebel cavalry who followed in our wake. At this point most of them swam over, but two were drowned in crossing. Later, during the night of the 8th of December, this atrocity was repeated under more revolting circumstances. Our corps (the 14th) had to cross Ebenezer Creek, a deep, broad stream. The approach to the bridge was by a long, narrow causeway cut through a swamp. This passage was a mile in length, and the swamp not passable. Near this bridge Davis placed two of his staff officers, who, as the column passed, stopped them and put the poor wretches ashore on a sort of island. The rebel cavalry followed close behind, and when it had entered the causeway there was no escape for any one to the rear. As soon as our troops had crossed the stream, Davis had the bridge taken up. The negroes were thus actually penned and delivered to the rebels, not simply driven out to shift for themselves, as they might have been in the open country. It is said the rebel force, being baulked in their pursuit of us, fired upon these helpless women and children. The number thus driven back and left to rebel butchery was about 300. Every man in the corps was shocked and indignant at the outrage, and many officers were heard to express their deepest condemnation at this brutal conduct of our Corps Commander, and our disgust and abhorrence of his conduct was not lessened on learning that in every other general division of Sherman's army the women and children were permitted to follow their husbands and fathers."

[The above appeared in the *Tribune* more than a week ago, but was discredited by the *Evening Post*, which said:]

We have this reason to believe such reports untrue, that our correspondent with Sherman's army, who takes the greatest interest in the condition and treatment of the blacks, and who has excellent opportunities for observation and information, has, in all his letters, private as well as published, spoken to the fair and kind treatment accorded to them on the whole march. He has written repeatedly of the kind and humane disposition of General Sherman towards the blacks; and he mentions no act of cruelty.

Such conduct as is ascribed to Gen. Davis ought not to be imputed to any one without the clearest proofs. We do not know anything of Gen. Davis except that he has served bravely and skillfully, ever since the opening of the war; to say, off-hand, and without any offer of proof, that a brave and faithful soldier who has worked his way from a lieutenancy to the command of an army corps, deliberately caused the butchery of three hundred women and children, and did so out of mere cruel spite, is scarcely fair to him. If the charge is true, hanging would be too good for him—but if it is untrue?

[Seeing the above in the *Evening Post*, we hesitated at first to copy the *Tribune's* statement, though vouched for by the latter as the testimony of an eye-witness; but it has now been before the public long enough to be authoritatively contradicted, if it were not true; and as no contradiction has appeared, we are reluctantly driven to the conclusion that Gen. Davis was guilty of the terrible inhumanity attributed to him. The Beaufort (S. C.) correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*, under date Jan. 12, after alluding to "a few slight excesses" committed at that place by some of Sherman's soldiers, who "quarrelled, perhaps fatally, with one or two of the property-holding negroes," adds: "*The general sentiment of the army is more or less kindly toward the blacks.*" He then goes on to speak of the inhumanity of Gen. Davis:]

A painful exception to this rule [of kindness] has been insufficiently brought to attention. At Ebenezer's Creek, on the march to Savannah, occurred the only great catastrophe of the black exodus. It was said that, finding the path of his corps blocked up and encumbered by the thousands of contrabands who followed his march, Gen. Jefferson C. Davis ordered them to be driven to the rear, and, after his troops had crossed the creek, cut the bridge behind him, leaving many hundreds of helpless men, women, and children on the further bank, where they were set upon by Wheeler's merciless cavalry, and sabred, shot, and drowned. This massacre has not yet received denial; but, whether it is true or not that hundreds of these negroes were slaughtered because Gen. Davis deliberately cut them off from all escape, it seems nevertheless true that he abandoned them. In the last necessity an honorable soldier might have hesitated at such a measure; but it seems that the act was both inhuman and unmilitary, the issue of a brutal impulse, and a symptom of the grossest bad generalship. The negroes could have readily crossed the bridge, and followed men not loth to take the frequent and grateful advice of the contraband, and quite able to protect them. Every corps commander found himself crowded by refugees, and Howard, brave and gentle soldier as he is, crossed sixteen bridges (rebuilt as fast as the rebels destroyed them) without sacrificing any poor fugitive in his train. Every noble soldier in the army would deplore such a shameful "necessity" as that which a *Herald* correspondent ascribes to Gen. Davis, and, least of all, would Gen. Sherman be disposed to excuse it. He is an inveterate captain, but the boast is now more true than ever that he has brought more slaves out of bondage than all the rest of the generals combined; and, though he professes that his business is not to save or sell negroes, but to put down the rebellion (particularly when beset by recruiters and philanthropists), yet it would not be surprising to find him, at the same time, holding a little negro child by the hand. Something like this was a well-authenticated scene which happened a short time past. Let us hope, even against permitted fact, that the charge against Gen. Davis is untrue; but, remaining as it is, we need not scruple words to make it severe while its subject is under nomination for major-generalship.

[These allegations against Gen. Davis should arrest the attention of Congress and be thoroughly investigated by the proper Committee. If they are false, let them be disproved; but if they are true, a terrible responsibility rests upon the perpetrators of such cruelty. We are unwilling to believe that Gen. Sherman would either authorize or fail to rebuke and punish such inhumanity. The key to his action toward the negroes while on the march through Georgia may perhaps be found in the following dispatch to the Associated Press:]

WASHINGTON, Saturday, Jan. 7, 1865.

A letter received here from Gen. Sherman states that if he had been able to feed the negroes who desired to accompany him on his recent march through Georgia, he could have brought a hundred thousand away with him. Not being able to provide for them he was obliged to refuse most of them the desired permission, and for the present leave them within the rebel lines.

[The "few slight excesses" at Beaufort, alluded to by the correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*, are more particularly described in an extract of a private letter in the Boston *Commonwealth*:]

A large number of Gen. Sherman's forces has been sent to Beaufort, so that the town is overflowing with them. They bore no love to the colored people in the beginning, and now are riotous. I think the darkies must think the "good old secesh times" have come back, when they see white men in the streets, swearing at "the niggers," and kicking and knocking them about. These soldiers seem to have stormed the town. They enter every colored man's house they can find, and maltreat, in the most shameful manner, the inmates, appropriating to themselves whatever they can find. Many of these houses are occupied by soldiers' families. Of course the women are helpless. They waylay any "nigger" in the street, seize upon whatever he has, and give him a beating for his pains. Yesterday, Gen. Saxton's servant was sent for oysters; on his way back his oysters were taken from him, and he so beaten as to be sick. Gen. Saxton has no power to prevent these things, as the town for the present is in the hands of the military. Think of this for Gen. Sherman's glorious army! When we were told this great number of men were to remain in Beaufort, and would eat up everything so that we could not get even rations, we submitted to the idea with heroism, thinking if the soldiers could be fed we were willing to go hungry; but they are "riding rough-shod" over us.

[In regard to Gen. Sherman's policy toward the negroes, we copy the two special dispatches that follow from the *Tribune*—the one, it will be seen, utterly incompatible with the other:]

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Jan. 19, 1865.

One of the results of Secretary Stanton's visit to Savannah is to solve a doubt as to the soundness of Gen. Sherman on the negro question. This soldier's views and policy are those of the government. His treatment of the negroes of Savannah has inspired them with confidence, and they rely on him wholly. He has borne in his heart a great scheme for the benefit of their race in Georgia, and it is understood here that the country will be electrified in a few days by an order from him partitioning among them the abandoned Sea Island property of fugitive rebel planters, and establishing them in their new freeholds and laying the foundation of a new social condition in the South, whose superstructure but few politicians in the country are now permitted clearly to see.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22, 1865.

Gen. Sherman is not a candidate for the Presidency. The policy of attributing to him anti-slavery views, and the hearty adoption of extreme philanthropic and political purposes with respect to the negroes of the conquered rebel States, was successful in obtaining publicity through the *Tribune* of Friday. The statement was made here in the highest quarter, to Senators and others, that on the visit to Gen. Sherman he was found to have got away beyond the radicals of this Administration; that he exceeded expectation; that he had determined to devote the sea islands to the uses of the freedmen and lay the foundation of negro free-holding in the soil of the South. This was an illusion, to use a mild word.

A letter received here yesterday from Gen. Sherman, contains the highest evidence that his old views about the colored Unionists are unchanged. He charges the North with having gone crazy about "the nigger"; he says that he believes in the negro in his place, leaving the inference that his place is not in the ranks; that in consistency with his belief he has employed negroes that came into his camps as waiters, servants and laborers, and that his convictions in regard to the impolicy of making soldiers of the negroes cannot be changed. In response seemingly to a suggestion that he might be the Democratic candidate for the next Presidency, he says that he is not qualified for civil office and does not desire it, and repeats a remark he once made to a gentleman in California when spoken to about running for office in San Francisco—that he had not been to the penitentiary, and consequently had no training for the business.

TESTIMONY OF ANOTHER EYE-WITNESS.

[Just as we are going to press, we find in the *Herald* of Thursday, the following statement of Mr. J. E. P. Doyle, correspondent of that paper in Savannah, which puts a somewhat different face upon the conduct of Gen. Davis at Ebenezer Creek.]

I learn that the Washington correspondent of a New York paper publishes a letter from the army, condemning Gen. Jeff. C. Davis for his action in driving the contrabands from his column. What motive the writer had in view I know not, but I presume it is to prejudice the government against the General and to defeat his confirmation.

It was my privilege to know all the facts in the case, being present when the order for turning the contrabands out of the column was given, and, while I do not wish to appear as the apologist of Gen. Davis, I take pleasure in bearing witness to the fact that, along the whole march Gen. Davis exhibited a deep interest in the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at least did not object to the riding of women and children in army wagons, and only turned them out of his column when he found that the safety of his column, which was far in the rear of the other columns, harrassed by Wheeler, and threatened with momentary assault from Bragg, depended upon rapid movements. The negroes were turned out to prevent the obstruction of the movement of the column, and not on account of any objection on his part to the unfortunate people obtaining their freedom from the tyranny of rebel masters.

It is, accordingly, unjust to censure an officer who has rendered our cause such signal service as has Gen. Davis, for holding his soldiers' lives in higher estimation than the negroes. But there are some croakers who are never satisfied unless the darkey is exalted above everything else. Gen. Sherman's order on the subject was very explicit, and I have yet to learn that Gen. Davis violated it in the slightest particular.

MARRIED.

SLOANE—SWANWICK.—At Pyens Farm, Illinois, on Tuesday, January 17, by Rev. Samuel Wylie, assisted Rev. W. F. George, Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, of New York, and Miss Fannie B. Swanwick, of Chester, Illinois.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Receipts for the Quarter ending Dec. 31st, 1864.

Collection at Annual Meeting,	$103 78
Mary Richards,	5 00
H. M. Darlington,	1 50
M. J. Burleigh,	2 00
Wm. Thompson,	3 50
Receipts for Standard,	268 55

SARAH PUGH, Treasurer.

Special Notices.

INTERESTING COURSE OF LECTURES
TO SUIT THE TIMES,
AT CONCERT HALL, PHILA.
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
SOCIAL, CIVIL, AND STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION,
OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

Viewing the great changes going on with regard to their race, feel deeply impressed that rare opportunities at the present time present themselves for accomplishing a very great amount of good, by a course of lectures in this city from able advocates (white and colored) of equal rights and universal freedom.

As oppression has ground down the slave of the South, so likewise does prejudice and proscription weigh heavily upon the free colored man of the North; therefore, whatever tends to remove these evils aids in elevating the race; hence, with the hope of removing prejudice in a measure, by properly enlightening the public mind, these lectures have been gotten up.

The speakers engaged for the course are as follows:

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, J. M. LANGSTON, Esq.,
REV. SELLA MARTIN, FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
F. E. WATKINS HARPER, HON. WM. D. KELLEY.

Of the ability of the speakers, and their deep interest in the cause, it is needless to speak. The Committee hope the well-known reputation of the speakers, and the good cause for which they are to speak, will ensure the fullest success of their efforts.

The proceeds to go to aid in procuring the rights of colored people on the city passenger railways, or to aid the freedmen, or sick and wounded soldiers.

Advertisements.

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It is not new to the Doctor, but it is entirely new to the public. One quart bottle will last a well person a year. This is rather a new mode of doctoring; nevertheless it will

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to the system.

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PREVENTIVE TO SICKNESS

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will increase the strength, give vigor and action to the system, and regulate digestion. When taken internally, for pains of all kinds—Bilious Colic, Diarrhœa, Diseases of the Throat, Pains in the Chest, Hoarseness, Coughs, Neuralgia, Rheumatic Pains, Dyspepsia, Acidity of the Stomach, etc., etc.—its soothing and quieting effect on the system is most astonishing.

Dr. Wilcox, an eminent physician, employed it with great success in treating Fevers, Dyspepsia, Nervous Affections, Loss of Appetite, Weakness, Palpitation of the Heart, Chronic Diarrhœa, Colic Dysentery, and Diseases of the Stomach and Bowels. It is also particularly recommended by physicians to delicate females, and as an excellent remedy for Enfeebled Digestion, Want of Appetite, Scrofula, Nephritic Affections, Rheumatism, etc., etc. It never fails to relieve Nervous Tremor, Wakefulness, Disturbed Sleep, etc. American Ladies have used this article with great success to heighten their color and beauty.

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Send for descriptive pamphlet.

MRS. WM. G. KING, formerly Miss Lilly Ann Carter, would be glad to hear from any of her friends who may have escaped from slavery. Her address is Care Rev. W L. Judd, Port au Prince, Hayti.

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Miscellaneous Department.

FREE MISSOURI.

JANUARY 11TH, 1865.

OH, fitly may the silver light,
From all the round moon's cycle bright,
Shine o'er the sleeping town to-night.

No smallest cloud to dim her ray,
She moveth on her splendid way,
To bless the night of Freedom's day.

For unto many an humble home,
With quiet feet no more to roam,
The Angel of the Lord has come;

And broken lies the heavy chain,
That at his bidding snapped in twain,
And left the slave a man again.

Now many hearts forget their care,
As joyous, solemn words of prayer
Float upward on the quiet air.

And North and South, where still the broad
And swelling river rolls its flood,
Go up the freed man's thanks to God;

And West, to where, o'er war-worn lands,
Our freedom-loving Kansas stands
And welcomes him with outstretched hands.

Oh, earth roll round, and bring the sun,
To shine upon the triumph won,
Upon the better life begun.

To shine upon the rescued State,
All thrilling with the coming fate,
That asked but this to make her great.

For now at last, redeemed and free,
She sends her voice to either sea,
And cries: "Oh, sisters, welcome me!"

Through all the storm-clouds of the fight,
Our God has led her steps aright
To Freedom's first, most blessed right.

Nor doubt we that He guardeth still,
And leadeth all the land until
He gives us peace. We wait his will.

—*Missouri Democrat.* A. E.

TRIBUTES TO EDWARD EVERETT.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

[At a meeting of the Union League Club in this city, Mr. Bryant spoke as follows:]

IT seems to me that even if Mr. Everett had not taken the memorable part which he has done of late years, in regard to political questions, it would yet be most becoming in the Union Club solemnly to express its grief for his loss, as one of the ornaments of the country we love. It would be well for us to say, that we deplore the departure of one on whose words crowded assemblies in different parts of the country have so often hung in profound admiration, who brought to the discussion of high themes the knowledge gathered from the wide and various studies of a long life, and the graces derived from a familiar acquaintance with the masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature, and the polite literature of modern nations.

But we are now assembled to do honor to the memory of a true patriot and a devoted friend of his country, a man to whom the land of his birth is under the highest obligations. Mr. Everett was, by temperament, conservative to a degree that many would consider extreme. He disliked change; he shrunk from innovation in fear of its consequences. He had learned, from observation and the history of mankind, how often great issues are wrapped up in seemingly small beginnings; how, from a measure rashly taken, may spring effects the vastness and importance of which no human foresight could have calculated. He preferred the certainty of present ills to those possible and unknown ones arising from change, which seemed to him the more formidable because they were unknown. Yet, when the rebellion broke out, he emancipated himself at once from all such tendencies of his mind. He embraced the war in defence of the Union with all its consequences and all its risks. He disdained patching up a hollow peace by concessions to the Slave Power, and when the question of slavery came up, he promptly and manfully gave his voice for its total and perpetual extinction. He hesitated not; he recognized the great necessity of the time, and joined in demanding that an immediate end should be put to an institution coeval with our history. His example and his words had an immense effect throughout the country, both upon the wavering and upon those who, like himself, were conservative. They confirmed, they established the wavering in their attachment to their country; they converted conservatives into patriots.

Mr. President, the close of this illustrious man's life was like the sunset as sometimes seen in our climate. The orb that gives light to the world, after wading through an atmosphere in which it seems to be shorn of its proper brightness, reaches at length a belt of transparent and illuminated sky, and goes down in a flood of glory. Yet I cannot help wishing that he had lived to see the cause for which he contended gloriously triumphant, that he had lived to hear the good news of to-day, and the news of the certain victories of our arms now in prospect.

Mr. President, if I have ever uttered anything in derogation of Mr. Everett's public character at times when it seemed to me that he did not resist, with becoming spirit, the aggressions of wrong, I now, looking back upon his noble record of the last four years, retract it at his grave. I lay upon his hearse the declaration of my sorrow that I saw not then the depth of his worth, that I did not discern under the conservatism which formed a part of his nature, that generous courage which a great emergency could so nobly awaken.

BY PARKE GODWIN.

[At the same meeting, Mr. Godwin delivered a brief address, of which we copy the principal part.]

Mr. Everett was a preacher, a scholar, a professor, an editor, a publicist, a diplomatist and a statesman. In all these capacities he acquitted himself with more than respectable ability; in most of them he was distinguished, and would have been rarely distinguished had he pursued them exclusively; while in some of them he reached a superlative and peerless excellence. As a preacher he wore not unworthily the gown of the gentle and gifted Buckminster, and satisfied the demands of an audience that his surpassing merits had made exacting; as a scholar, his acquirements in the fields of ancient classic as well as of modern polite literature were copious and even opulent, while his enthusiasm for letters kindled a noble zeal in all about him; as a publicist, he always illuminated the topic on which he wrote with the brightest lights of historical research; his papers as a diplomatist are masterly arguments, full of learning, of logic and of a dignified persuasive eloquence, ranking with the highest models in that kind of composition; and his statesmanship, though timid and hesitating, was yet honest and patriotic. A large party looked to it for justification, support and guidance.

There was a time when, I confess, Mr. Everett's public course did not run parallel with my own convictions of political duty, and seemed anything but laudable. It was during that stern struggle for the ascendency of free over servile principles, when, in my estimation, all the manliness, all the culture, all the intellectual force and all the moral purity of the nation were summoned to resist the advances of a gigantic social wrong, to raise the standard of a high and absolute justice for all men, and to keep the republic steady to that glorious pole-star of freedom which the fathers set in the heavens, as its eternal guide. Mr. Everett faltered in the march; his sensitive and delicate nature shrank from the blows and wounds and death-shots of that terrible battle-field; a cloud—perhaps it was the smoke of the contest—interposed between him and our admiration; and we feared that we might have to write of him, as of others, Browning's pathetic moan of the Lost Leader, "One more soul lost."

But how magnanimously, how grandly, in the face of that alluring circle of Boston admirers, regardless of the remembered courtesies of the South, so refined, spontaneous, seductive, he flung himself into the cause of the Union and the war! How earnestly he pleaded for the integrity of the nation, how vigorously he pushed on the serried columns of her defenders, how beautifully he bemoaned her dead at Gettysburg, how rapturously he evoked those deep charitable feelings which pervade the war as the vivifying fire lurks in the rugged bosom of the earth.

For after all, it is as an orator—as the master of cultivated thought and graceful delivery—that Mr. Everett, like Cicero, will be chiefly remembered. No one, I am sure, ever listened to one of his studied but effective and brilliant performances, without wishing to apply to him the exquisite compliment which he himself paid to that most magnificent orator of Massachusetts, Rufus Choate, when, at the close of one of Choate's speeches, he cited the words of Milton:

"The Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixed to hear."

So would we prolong the strain which flowed "in rills of oily eloquence" from his own mellifluous lips. But, alas, the keys are closed, the stops are shut, of that most incomparable music. Never shall delighted thousands hang again upon the voice, alternately sweet, melting and sublime, which was never uttered in any consciously bad cause, but only to compass great ends—some good for society and man—to vindicate order and law, to diffuse the knowledge of "the humanities," to uphold and magnify our free institutions, and to celebrate the virtues of great men, and particularly of him, our Greatest and the world's.

BY JOHN JAY, ESQ.

[At a subsequent meeting of the Club, Mr. Jay paid a tribute to Mr. Everett, from which we copy as follows:]

It is not as the scholarly graduate of Cambridge, nor the ardent and eloquent pastor—not as the Greek professor, the accomplished traveller, the graceful linguist; not as a member of Congress, nor as a State Governor, nor as President of Harvard, nor Minister to England, nor Secretary of State, nor Senator from Massachusetts, nor from what he accomplished in all these positions combined, that Edward Everett is now chiefly mourned by the American people, and that we of New York are assembled in this Club to-night to add a leaf to the chaplet that will for ages consecrate his fame. It is rather for what he has said and done during the stern trials of the last four years, in the simple capacity of a private citizen, to arouse the feeling of American nationality against the damnable heresies of State sovereignty, slavery and secession, and to awaken in every heart a common love for our common country. With these constant labors fresh in our recollection, with his voice, that sounded to the ear like music, still lingering in the atmosphere which it had helped to purify, we can well afford to forget that he was ever numbered amongst the Northern advocates of concession and compromise towards the Slave Power, so long disguised as a conservator of the Union and a guardian of the Constitution. If unwise and unmanly surrenders of principle to that power, in times gone by, encouraged the rebellion in its germ, and misled the people of the South, we know that Everett openly denounced and steadfastly opposed that power the moment it threw off its mask of devotion to the Constitution, and stood confessed in its hideous lineaments and rebel garb—a thief, a traitor, and an assassin!

We know that, instead of clinging to the party whose Presidential ticket had borne his name; instead of giving to his rebel friends sympathy and aid, and reserving for his country only a base-born semi-loyalty, he was true to the national sentiment of his youth; and that sentiment of nationality regenerated and disenthralled, inspired with a more glorious beauty and a marvellous strength, the patriotic eloquence of his closing years.

Past and forgotten, in this hour devoted to his memory, be every sentiment and every act which his own better wisdom has condemned, for among the recent statesmen of whose short-sighted policy we are reaping the fruits, his name will stand in the page of history, chief among those who if they erred, were prompt to redeem their errors, to crush the viper they had warmed, and to save the republic they had endangered. It will never be reckoned among the wretched men who, having sympathized to the last with slavery and secession, now see their country rising in new greatness, not in consequence of their loyal efforts, but in spite of their disloyal sympathies or disgraceful apathy.

It has already become apparent that no official station nor past services will redeem from ignominy this doomed class; and men who have held higher positions in the State than Mr. Everett will go down to the dust from which they sprung, and no loyal American will stoop to drop a tear upon their graves.

Mr. Everett's counsels, since the war commenced, have been marked by the vigor of youth and the wisdom of age; but, as especially illustrative of the manly courage with which he met the responsibilities of the situation, in spite of the delicate fastidiousness and cautious conservatism, in spite of his constitutional indisposition, strengthened by years, to discard old habits of thought and action, and in spite of the powerful influences of the refined and intellectual circle by which he was surrounded; let me refer for an instant to his course on the question of abolishing slavery, the acknowledged cause and front of the rebellion. While even Republican politicians and lawyers found technical difficulties in the proclamation of Emancipation, the calm common sense of Everett cleared all difficulties from the path, and in October last he advanced the opinion in Faneuil Hall, that "by the simple act of levying war against the United States the relation of slavery was terminated, certainly so far as concerns the duty of the United States to recognize, or to refrain from interfering with it." He pronounced that proclamation warranted by the law of nations, justified on military grounds, and necessary to prevent the hostile interference of European powers. I hold in my hand a paper, probably his last address to his countrymen on the national issues, entitled "The Retrospect of the year 1864." It was published in the *Ledger* for the 14th January, the last day of his life; so that it comes to us as a voice from the dead—words of cheer and counsel from the inhabitant of a better world.

In this paper he declares that our policy of non-interference with slavery, up to the date of the proclamation, had brought us to the brink of foreign recognition. He quotes Mr. Vice-President Stephens himself as saying:

"Lincoln had either to witness our recognition abroad, the moral power of which he said would break down the war, or to make it an Emancipation war."

Mr. Everett declared that "in the present state of things no foreign government is strong enough to recognize, on the score of humanity, a revolutionary oligarchy avowedly resting on the corner-stone of slavery."

Mr. President: That the adoption of a wise constitutional anti-slavery policy by the National government thirty years ago would have saved us this rebellion of the Slave Power, history has already taught us; and how that fatal error has been avenged, our vacant firesides sadly show. In this eventful hour, when the Constitutional Amendment is pending before Congress to sweep away slavery absolutely and forever, we have, as a last legacy to his countrymen, the advice of this departed statesman—to which his antecedents, his experience and matured judgment give a solemn significance, that in an inflexible adherence to that eternal justice, consists the safety of this great empire.

The last sentence of his retrospect of the year, after thus enlarging upon the Emancipation proclamation and recounting our military and naval achievements, closes with the words: "These are the auspicious events which crown 1864 with glory, and authorize the joyous anticipation, for our whole beloved country, of a 'Happy New Year.'" And thus was fitly rounded the life of Edward Everett; as with that parting invocation for the country he loved so well, he rested from his labors, and joined in the spirit land the statesmen and heroes and fathers of the republic.

THE FUNERAL OF MR. EVERETT.

BOSTON, Thursday, Jan. 19, 1865.

The funeral of Edward Everett took place to-day in the First Church, services of a more private character having previously been held in the late residence of the deceased on Summer st. The church was appropriately draped in the symbols of mourning. The remains were brought to the church at 12 o'clock, escorted by the Independent Cadets, the following gentlemen acting as pall-bearers: The Hon. Emory Washburn, ex-Governor of Massachusetts; F. W. Lincoln, Jr., Mayor of Boston; Thomas Hill, President of Harvard University; G. T. Bigelow, Chief-Justice; George Ticknor, Trustee of the Public Library; Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Historical Society; C. G. Loring, Vice-President of the Union Club; Asa Gray, President of the Academy of Arts and Sciences; J. D. Graham, Colonel U. S. A.; Silas H. Stringham, Rear-Admiral U. S. N. The inscription upon the coffin, borne upon a solid silver plate, is as follows: "Edward Everett, born in Dorchester, Mass., the 11th of April, 1794; died in Boston, the 15th of January, 1865." Upon the casket a wreath of white flowers and evergreens were placed.

The services were simple and improvisé, opening with the burial chant of the Episcopal service, "Teach me to know my days," followed by the reading of appropriate passages from the Scriptures, and prayer by the Rev. Dr. Walker, late President of Harvard College. The Rev. Rufus Ellis then made an eloquent and touching address and prayer, after which the usual Church service was read over the remains of the deceased; the exercises closing by singing the funeral anthem: "Their bodies are buried in the dust, but their names live forevermore." The remains were conveyed to Mount Auburn. The burial procession was large and imposing. Two companies of volunteer cavalry, two of infantry, and a company of Marines from the Navy Yard acted as an escort.

MR. EVERETT'S LAST LETTERS.

To Mr. Robert Bonner.

BOSTON, 30 Dec., 1864.

MY DEAR ROBERT: Having been hard at work all day, I sit down by way of relaxation, late in the evening, to have a little chat with you. I am rejoiced to hear that the *Ledger* is doing, as you say, "remarkably well." * * * * *

I do, I assure you, take great satisfaction in the thought, that, through your columns, I speak to so large an audience, and occasionally with good effect. What are 4,000 persons in Faneuil Hall compared with the numbers who read the *Ledger?* I often receive letters of acknowledgment. * * *

With respect to the French mission, it has been occasionally mentioned *to* me, never *by* me, except at this moment, in writing to you. Unless our ministers now abroad are recalled, it is not likely that Massachusetts, which has now three full ministers, will be allowed to have another. Even if they should come home, there are other Massachusetts men who will do, what I shall not, seek the place by themselves or friends. In fact, I am very doubtful whether I should accept it if offered to me. I have been ten years in Europe. I am in my seventy-first year. I don't want the salary. I refused two years ago to go abroad on a confidential mission to *all the leading courts*, with leave to stay as long as I thought expedient in each capital; to have a secretary and an allowance equal to the highest salary. It is true, I was not to have a regular commission, but I was to have a plenary credential from the President and a letter from the Secretary of State to all the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. Having declined this when *urged* upon me, you can judge whether I am very eager to go abroad or very likely to solicit any office. I do not wish these things published now; but when I am gone you can affirm them on good authority. In the meantime my moderation is not likely, on this occasion, to be put to the test, for there is not the least probability that the office will be offered me. Ever sincerely yours, EDWARD EVERETT.

ROBERT BONNER, Esq.

To Mrs. Wise.

BOSTON, 13th January, 1865.

I have yours of the 8th. I am just recovering from a pretty severe attack of illness, which has kept me in bed most of the time since Monday. On Monday morning I was at the court room two and a half hours testifying. I then went to Faneuil Hall, which was cold, and till my turn came I sat in a draft of air. When I got through—though I spoke but half an hour—my hands and feet were as ice, and my lungs on fire. In this agreeable condition I had to go and pass three hours in the court room. This finished me. I came home, sent for Hayward, and went regularly to work. I hardly left my bed next day. I have barely weathered an attack of pneumonia, which was an old-fashioned lung fever. Hayward comes twice a day. *I have turned the corner*, and as soon as I can get a little appetite, shake off my carkling cough and get the kidneys to resume their action, and subdue the numbness of my limbs, and get the better of a sharp neuralgic pain in the left shoulder, I hope to do nicely. Everett behaves very well, in the somewhat abnormal condition of the household. His new sled—the "Kearsarge"—behaves as well as its namesake. The Arago has got back to New York, so that I think we shall get news from Sid to-night. Best love to husband and babies.

Your ever affectionate papa, E. E.

The "Everett" alluded to is Edward Everett Wise, a young son of Captain Wise, who was visiting his grandfather at the time of his death. "Sid," also alluded to, is Mr. Everett's oldest son, about thirty years of age, a Major in the volunteer service, and now at Beaufort, S. C., serving upon the staff of Gen. Saxton. Mr. Everett had three sons and two daughters by his wife, Charlotte Gray, daughter of the late Hon. Peter C. Brooks, who died about two years ago. One daughter died while Mr. Everett was minister to London, and subsequently he lost a son. Two sons, Henry Sidney Everett and William Everett, and a daughter, survive him. The latter is married to Commander Henry A. Wise, of the navy.

IN CHURCH.

SHE stands beside a pillar fair,
A maiden girlish-slight,
But stronger than the column there
Her innocency's might;
And simple straight her thoughts go up, in purest white arrayed,
And far above the pillar's shaft their resting-place is made.

She kneels beneath the arching lines
That o'er the chancel sweep,
And on her brow the holy signs
Of peaceful conscience sleep;
And higher than the arches' height her steadfast eyes do look,
The while they meekly seem to fall upon her open book.

A sunbeam laughs into her face,—
The face that knows no stain,—
And laughs to see from out their place,
Within the window pane,
The olden saints, in quaint array, come sliding, gliding down,
To hover o'er her winsome face, and weave for her a crown.

St. Matthew gleams about her lips,
For all his mien so staid;
And see, upon her finger-tips
St. James's palms are laid;
The loved apostle calmly floats o'er one so purely fair,
And hoar St. Peter, with his keys, lies tangled in her hair.

Mine eyes are dazzled with the blaze;
For oh! she is so fair;
Yet do I nought but gaze and gaze,
For glory has no glare;
And then I murmur to myself, all wondering, "How can she,
This being, in her radiancy, my own betrothed be?"

Anon the organ's minstrelsy,
And all the choir join in;
But she, albeit her silency,
Is holier than a hymn;
For "Jubilate Domine" her every look doth show,
And "Gloria" is writ upon the brightness of her brow.

Then for his text the pastor takes
A verse I know full well,
And every word he utters makes
A new-born glory-spell
Come showering down from out the pane to light up every word,
Yea, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see the Lord."

For lo! I see it shining out,
A gorgeous blazoned text,
With crimson, purple, strewn about
The golden blaze perplext;
And then upon my clasped hands I bow my face and pray,
And "Blessed are the pure in heart," I softly, softly say.

EMANCIPATION JUBILEE IN ST. LOUIS.

From the St. Louis Democrat, Jan. 16.

LAST Saturday was the day set apart for celebrating the passage of the Emancipation Ordinance, which declares that hereafter negro slavery shall be unknown within the limits of the State of Missouri. This Ordinance was passed with a unanimity unexpected, the vote being 60 for and *four* against it.

At the request of Mayor Thomas, Gen. Dodge ordered a salute of sixty guns to be fired, and at 3 o'clock the sonorous voices of the great guns sent their reverberations far and near, telling the people for miles around that Missouri was free. The congratulations of all the loyal States had been received on the wings of the lightning, and Missouri now responded in tones of thunder.

During the whole day the houses on all the principal streets were decorated with flags, and there was a general rejoicing among the people at the happy consummation of a long hoped for event.

It was at night, however, when the sun had gone down, and the mantle of darkness, gemmed with stars, was folded over the city, that the jubilee reached its acme. Then millions of artificial lights, gleaming from every window, dispelled the darkness, and fiery meteors seemed to climb the ladder of heaven to tell the glad news to the rejoicing stars, and, as the message was delivered, burst into a thousand glittering fragments, and fell gracefully back to the earth.

Private dwellings, in every part of the city, were illuminated and many business houses were gorgeously decorated with flags and lanterns, transparencies, and other devices. Fourth street was, as usual, the centre of attraction. From the cupola of the Court House a large number of rockets were sent up, and various forms of beautiful fireworks put in operation. In front of the Planter's House, before the railroad offices, were long strings of Union lanterns and transparencies, and all the windows of the hotel were illuminated. David Nicholson had decorations, appropriate transparencies, and illuminated mottoes in front of his store.

Ticknor & Co.; Pomeroy & Benton; Warne, Cheever & Co.; C. G. Wells; Barr, Duncan & Co.; E. D. Morgan & Co.; Parson & Co.; the Everett House, and a large number of others on Fourth street, were brilliantly decorated and illuminated. All the military rooms and offices made handsome exhibitions. The new building on the corner of Fourth and Pine, erected by the proprietors of the *Democrat* and soon to be occupied by their extensive printing establishment, was handsomely lit up.

We should like to particularize each house, public and private, that was illuminated and decorated, but the list would be too long for our space. It is enough to say that the manifestation was quite general, and showed that the sentiment of a vast majority of the people of the city is in accordance with the great and important measure commemorated on the occasion.

For two or three hours the whole length of Fourth street, from Franklin avenue to Walnut, was crowded with people of both sexes and all colors, and other streets were also full of people looking at the sight.

In various parts of the city the colored people had meetings, and their rejoicings were unbounded.

We heard of no disturbance during the evening, and as far as we could learn, the whole affair passed off with the utmost harmony and good order.

OFFICIAL PROMULGATION OF THE ACTION OF THE CONVENTION BY GOV. FLETCHER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, CITY OF JEFFERSON, MO., Jan. 11, 1865.

It having pleased Divine Providence to inspire to righteous action the sovereign people of Missouri, who, through their delegates in Convention assembled, with proper legal authority and solemnity, have this day ordained that in this State there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free:

Now, therefore, by authority of the supreme executive power vested in me by the Constitution of Missouri, I, Thomas C. Fletcher, Governor of the State of Missouri, do proclaim that henceforth and forever no person within the jurisdiction of this State shall be subject to any abridgement of liberty, except such as the law shall prescribe for the common good, or know any master but God.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name, and caused the great seal of the State to be affixed, at the City of Jefferson, this 11th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1865.

THOS. C. FLETCHER.

By the Governor—Francis Rodman, Secretary of State.

PROTECTION TO THE FREEDMEN.

[In the Missouri Constitutional Convention on the 12th inst., the day after the passage of the Ordinance of Emancipation—the following supplemental Ordinance was introduced by C. D. Drake, and—the rules having been suspended for the purpose—adopted by a vote of ayes 56, nays 3.]

An Ordinance to Protect Emancipated Negroes from Apprenticeship.

Be it ordained by the people of the State of Missouri, in Convention assembled:

That no person emancipated by the Ordinance abolishing slavery in Missouri, adopted on the eleventh day of January, eighteen hundred and sixty-five, shall, by a county court or any other authority, be apprenticed or bound to any person for any period of time, or for any service, except in pursuance of such law as the General Assembly of this State may hereafter enact, made especially applicable to the persons so emancipated.

[A correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing from St. Louis, says:]

The cause of this supplemental anti-apprentice ordinance was the fact that some of the county courts in the interior, whose judges were elected four years since (they hold office for six years), might attempt to reduce emancipated slaves to practical slavery after the adjournment of the Convention, under old laws allowing such a practice with free negroes found in the State. Indeed, this State Convention is on the verge of passing an ordinance permitting the Legislature to allow negroes to vote, if that body sees fit. Without an exception it is the most radical assembly which has ever met in a sovereign State with sovereign powers since the foundation of the government. The excitement which followed the passage of the Emancipation ordinance was the greatest at Jefferson City, where the Legislature is or was in session. The latter body immediately adjourned and organized a third house for the purpose of having a jubilee. Gov. Fletcher sent telegrams of greeting to all the loyal Governors, and made a congratulatory speech at the State House. An illumination and exhibition of fireworks took place in the evening. The secessionists throughout the interior were terribly excited. But it is not for the loss of property that they are indignant; they dislike the triumph of free ideas. The Union men are delighted with the progress of events, and believe that rebel sympathizers will have no further interest in trying to detach the State from the Union.

PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING.

[Immediately after the passage of the Ordinance of Emancipation the Convention, by a special vote, requested the Rev. Dr. Eliot, Pastor of the Unitarian Church in St. Louis, to offer prayer, which he did as follows:

Most Merciful God, before whom we are all equal; we look up to Thee who has declared thyself our Father and our Helper and our strong defence, to thank Thee that Thou art no respecter of persons; to thank Thee that Thou didst send Jesus Christ into the world to redeem the world from sin; that He was the friend of the poor, that He came to break the manacles of the slave, "that the oppressed might go free." We thank Thee that this day the people of this State have had Grace given them to do as they would be done by. We pray that Thy blessing may rest upon the proceedings of this Convention; that no evil may come to this State from the wrong position of those who do not agree with the action of today, but that we, all of us, may be united to sustain this which is now the law of the land. We pray, O God, but our hearts are too full to express our thanksgiving. Thanks be to God for this day; that light has now come out from darkness; that all things are now promising a future of peace and quietness to our distracted State. Grant that this voice may go over the whole land until the Ordinance of Emancipation is made perfect throughout the States. We ask it through the name of our dear Lord and Redeemer. Amen.

REV. ANTOINETTE BLACKWELL'S LECTURE ON MEN AND WOMEN.

From the Tribune.

THE state of the weather on Tuesday evening was such as to render walking laborious and disagreeable, and there was consequently not a large attendance at Clinton Hall to listen to the lecture of Mrs. Blackwell (formerly Miss Antoinette L. Brown) on the subject of "Men and Women." As it was, the interesting nature of the lecture, as well as the reputation of the lecturer, drew together a very intelligent and appreciative audience.

Mrs. Blackwell commenced by saying that one of the cardinal principles of nature was the growth of all life from a seed, and that another was the requirements of light and air for a proper growth. This was analogous to the human mind. She believed that every woman was born the equal of man, although it was incontestable that the wisest women had always been inferior to the wisest men. This she attributes to the inferior advantages for growth and development which had been possessed by the former. The statutes which specifically oppress women in any country are few, but women should have a perfectly legal equality with men. Society ignores woman's right to the highest mental development in every direction, and woman must feel the influence. There is no insuperable barrier, indeed, to her entrance into any profession except that of statesmanship, but she is met at every step by the opposition of social opinion. Her conscience is taken into bondage She is told that her efforts are unwomanly, until she takes refuge, at last, in the narrow circle of her own domicil. Against this stifling, miasmatic influence of repression, few women can successfully contend. But if God had doomed woman to inertness, He would not have filled her with a desire to act and achieve. Women are able to help themselves, as has been proven by the change which has taken place in the public sentiment, in her favor, during the last twenty years. The speaker held that the respect and attention accorded to Miss Dickinson by the public was as much a pledge of the emancipation of woman, as was the Proclamation of Freedom a pledge for the liberation of the slave (applause). And yet society still whispers to the woman to remember her sex, to spend her days in inertness, or in blushing for her Maker for having made her woman. But the time has come when our daughters must blush for this popular estimate of woman. The question between the North and South to-day is that of an equality of rights. Yet, after the North has conquered a peace, as she is fast doing, will she return to the oligarchical notions of the South by treating woman as heretofore? It is quite possible that little girls are now born who may one day be Presidents of the United States. Sooner or later, we certainly will enfranchise all our citizens, which will make all, of whatever sex, eligible to office. Women are admittedly unlike men in some of their mental characteristics; but there is no reason for the inference that the mental being of woman is not equal to that of man. It is true there is, with many men, a noble motive in disfranchising woman, in order to save her from the cares and perils of the world. But mental activity is the only discipline which can give strength of character, and each human being has the right to try his or her powers. There is no flowery pathway to human development. The time has come when all must launch fearlessly on the great sea of the untried. Of course they must suffer, for Christ suffered, and through suffering and trial will woman make her way to equality with man.

Mrs. Blackwell was listened to with marked attention throughout, accompanied by frequent applause.

THE AFRICAN ROSCIUS.

To the Editors of the Evening Post.

THE other day, as I was reading Bayard Taylor's very graphic and amusing account of Ira Aldridge (copied into your columns from the *Atlantic*), it struck me that my own experience of the mulatto *Macbeth* might not be uninteresting to some of your subscribers.

I saw Ira Aldridge in a much less out-of-the-way place than Mr. Taylor did, namely, at that queen of the world's watering-places, Baden-Baden, where the colored tragedian was starring it some six or seven years ago. His physical appearance is accurately described by Mr. Taylor. A large, stout, heavy Forrest-y personage is the African Roscius. He played *Shylock* with a very respectable German, and *Macbeth* (or parts thereof) with a very indifferent English troupe. The ludicrous effect in the first piece, of the protagonist speaking one language and the rest of the players another, was not lost on the audience, but the monoglot play caused much more laughter than the polyglot one, by reason of the "terrific combat" between the two Macs, which was carried out in the well-known English minor-theatre style, so often ridiculed by Dickens and others. To the Germans, generally good swordsmen, this "two-up-and-two-down, two-across-and-making-the-sparks-fly" exhibition was ineffably ludicrous.

Aldridge's *Macbeth* by no means made the favorable impression on me that it did on our celebrated traveller. It seemed to me very crude, in the worst country booth (no allusion to any city Booth) style of rant, with much misplacing of emphasis on unimportant words. On the other hand his *Shylock* was a very creditable performance, and it struck me at the time that he must have had a good model for *Shylock* and a bad one for *Macbeth;* for his acting was evidently of the imitative, not the original kind. I see my friend B. T. says that Aldridge was Edmund Kean's pupil, and resembles him in style, but (as I understand him) Mr. T. has not seen Kean himself, but only some of his imitators. I never saw Kean either; but if his *Macbeth* was at all like Ira Aldridge's, I really don't think I have lost much.

There was a longish memoir of Aldridge distributed by his agents, which was a model of bad taste. It was evidently written for him by some Englishman, and contained vulgar squibs against the "Yankees."

My appreciation of this actor has not, I think, been influenced by his race. I have none of the ordinary American prejudice against negro blood, and would much rather sit down to dinner with an intelligent and educated colored man like Frederick Douglass or Consul Hanson, of Liberia, than with a great many whites in this city who suppose themselves to be gentlemen. I judged of the mulatto *Macbeth* as I should have done of a white one; and really do not think him qualified to take rank among the second-class tragedians, unless indeed Mr. Taylor understands by them what the violoncello master did by players of another sort. Do you remember the story? A certain king once took it into his head to learn the violoncello, and put himself under the tuition of an eminent professor. By and by the king was curious to know what progress he made, and asked his teacher one day point blank. "Sire," replied the professor, "violoncello players may be divided into three classes, those who cannot play at all, those who play badly, and those who play well. Your majesty has already reached the second class." CARL BENSON.

P. S. Do any of your readers remember a clever, light mulatto named Hewlett, who performed (*ehea fugaces!*) some thirty-four years ago at the Broadway and Anthony street theatre? He called himself on the bills "nature's proud representative," sang comic and sentimental songs, and gave imitations of the elder Matthews.

SAINT MARTIN AND THE BEGGAR.

BY N. G. SHEPHERD.

HOLY Saint Martin once at Amiens' gate,
Passing that way where went both low and great,
Saw there, ashiver with the winter's cold,
A poor half-naked wretch. Silver or gold
The Saint had none; his kindly beaming eyes,
Mild as the light of stars within the skies,
Filled with the rising pity in his breast,
Where dwelt all charities which make men blest,
At sight of one, a soul so desolate,
Houseless and friendless by the city's gate,
And taking from his back the coat he wore,
Into two parts the garment then he tore,
And with a blessing which all lips may say,
Gave to him there the half, and went his way.

Next night, upon some deed of mercy bent,
By that same gate the good Saint Martin went,
And saw within its shadow, standing there,
A man of thoughtful mien and presence fair,
Around whom shone a mildly radiant light—
None like to it had ever blest his sight—
And in its sheen the city's frowning gate
Seemed Heaven's own portal where good angels wait,
And to the Saint's meek eyes, with wonder wide,
The palms of Paradise uprose each side;
And lo! the man was Christ; speechless, amazed,
Spell-bound with wonderment, Saint Martin gazed,
And saw the ragged garment he had given
Worn on the shoulders of the Lord from Heaven!

—*Harper's Weekly.*

Advertisements.

NEW MUSIC.—"Do They Remember Me?" Song and Chorus; by W. O. Fiske. "Song of the Sailor-Boy." Ballad; C. H. Rodwell. "Give this to Mother." Ballad, and "The Pure, the Bright, the Beautiful." Song and Chorus; by Stephen C. Foster. "Let Me Die with My Face to the Foe"; "Beautiful Anne," and "Moonlight and Starlight." Songs with Choruses, all by James G. Clark. "God Save Our Noble Union." Song and Chorus; by Martin. "No Slave Beneath that Starry Flag"; "Our Dear New England Boys," and "There's Rest for all in Heaven" Songs with Choruses; by Mrs. E. A. Parkhurst. "Maryland's Free." Song and Chorus; by M. A. Fortune. Price 30 cents each, or the lot for $3, mailed free.
The above songs are all excellent.
37–3t HORACE WATERS, Publisher, 481 Broadway, N. Y.

WEST'S IMPROVED PUMP
Anti-Freezing, Double-Acting, Forcing and Lifting.

These Pumps have now been in general use a number of years, and give better satisfaction than any other, and are recommended as THE BEST! by Captain Ericsson, and other eminent engineers. We can refer to thousands using them, and guarantee that all will recommend them: They are more simple in construction, and work easier, and cost less than all others.

"Our readers will find the double-acting, improved Pump of J. D. West & Co., one of the best in the market. It is very simple, works to a charm, so that any child may use it; throws a steady, continuous stream, and does not freeze in the coldest exposures, and is unusually cheap. We say this knowingly, and give the testimony of our own accord, without the knowledge or request of the proprietors."—*N. Y. Evening Post, July* 1, 1863.

"J. D. WEST & CO. We are pleased to state that the Pumps we had of you, about a year ago, have been in constant use, 12 hours each day, and raise for the use of our woolen factory about 130 gallons per minute. They work with but little power, compared with pumps we have used before, and do not get out of repair, and are satisfactory in all respects. DUNLAP MANUFACTURING CO."

Solon Robinson to the Farmers' Club, Jan. 28;
"No farmer who owns a well or a cistern can possibly afford to be without an iron pump. It should be at once a suction and force pump—a perfect little fire-engine—such a one known as 'West's Improved Pump.' I speak of this Pump, because I happen to know it . . . . to be very simple, durable, powerful, and cheap, and it don't freeze up, nor get out of order once a year . . . . I know this, and think I may be doing the farmers good by speaking of it . . . . A boy 10 years old can work it, and throw a continuous inch-and-a-quarter stream. . . . It can be made to work in deep wells as well as in shallow ones."

"GREAT NECK, L. I., 1860.
"I have used this Pump for one Summer and Winter, exposed to the northwest wind coming over Long Island Sound, being the coldest possible exposure, and at no time did it freeze, nor were we unable at any time to pump water with great ease.
"H. B. MCILVAIN."

"The undersigned, having to use 'West's Improved Pumps,' cheerfully recommend them as simple, durable, and powerful in raising and throwing water, and for their ease of action, security against frost, and low price, we believe them superior to all others.
"WARREN LELAND, Met. Hotel, N. Y.
"J. W. POMEROY, Yonkers, N. Y.
"JOHN MESSEREAU, N. Y.
"DOMINICK LAWRENCE, Westchester."

From the New York Observer.
"We have had in use for months past one of West's Pumps, which has given us more satisfaction, as a force and lifting pump, than any we have ever used. It is one of great power, and well adapted for ship's decks, mines, factories, greenhouses, graperies, etc. The *Mining Chronicle and Railway Journal* says, 'It is recommended for its extreme simplicity of construction, great strength, and consequent durability and cheapness of repair. There is no stuffing-box—the pressure being held by a cup packing, like that upon the working-piston, working in a cylinder, fitted for the purpose within the upper air chamber—which we think a great improvement, as stuffing is so liable to be deranged and leak under strong pressure, to say nothing of the loss by friction incident thereto. It has also two air-chambers; thus the action of the valve is cushioned upon both sides by air—preventing water-hammer and vacuum-thump. The valves are very accessible, and simply and cheaply repaired. They work much easier than any pump we have ever seen; the 4-inch cylinder being worked by children in wells 100 feet deep, and as they are extremely cheap, as well as simple and strong, we freely recommend them.'"

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"J. D. WEST & CO.—Gents. The pump which I ordered for our mine is received, and put to work in our underlay shaft, which we are sinking. We find that one man will, with ease, lift 50 gallons per minute. We lifted in three and a half hours all the water in the shaft, which measures seven by twelve feet and thirty feet deep, and it was full when we commenced. It answers our expectations in every respect, and our workmen are highly pleased with it. It will do great service with but trifling expense for repairs.
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This Machine is constructed on entirely new principles of mechanism, possessing many rare and valuable improvements, having been examined by the most profound experts, and pronounced to be SIMPLICITY AND PERFECTION COMBINED.

It has a straight needle, perpendicular action, makes the Lock or Shuttle Stitch, which will neither rip nor ravel, and is alike on both sides; performs perfect sewing on every description of material, from Leather to the finest Nansook Muslin, with cotton, linen or silk thread, from the coarsest to the finest number. Having neither cam nor cog-wheel, and the least possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is EMPHATICALLY A NOISELESS MACHINE!

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No 1, Family Machine, with Hemmer, Feller and Braider,	$60
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One half hour's instruction is sufficient to enable any person to work this Machine to their entire satisfaction!
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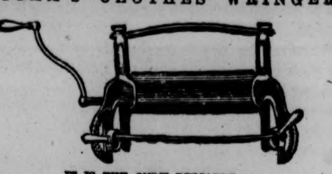

IT IS THE ONLY RELIABLE
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No Wood-work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty-seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the *best* Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $3 to $10 per day.

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That Iron well galvanized *will not rust.*
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That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting, durable and efficient.*
That thumb-screws and fastenings cause *delay* and *trouble* to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell, shrink,* and *split.*
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That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will *not tear the clothes.*
That cog-wheel regulators are not essential.
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That all who have tried it pronounce it the *best* Wringer ever made.
That it will ring a thread or a bed-quilt *without alteration.*

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PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.—Gentlemen; I know from practical experience that iron well galvanized with zinc will not oxydize or rust one particle. The Putnam Wringer is as near perfect as possible, and I can cheerfully recommend it to be the best in use.
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PRICES, $8, $9, and $10.
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PIANO-FORTE MANUFACTURERS,
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received the highest award of merit over all others at the celebrated World's Fair! where were exhibited instruments from the best makers of London, Paris, Germany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New York; and also at the American Institute for five successive years, the gold and silver medals from both of which can be seen at our warerooms.

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ONLY TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER POUND.

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has all the flavor of OLD GOVERNMENT JAVA, and is but half the price; and also that
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has TWICE THE STRENGTH OF JAVA, or any other Coffee whatever; and wherever used by our first-class hotels and steamboats, the stewards say there is a saving of 50 per cent.
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